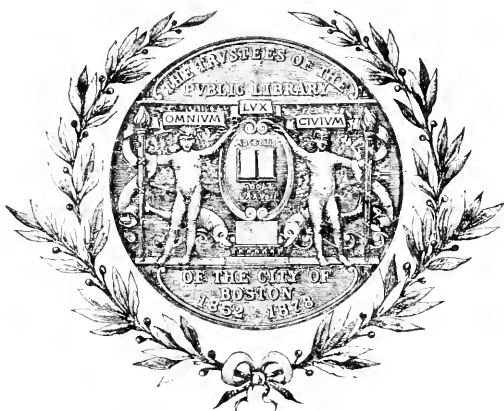


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HEARINGS REGARDING JACK R. McMICHAEL

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

EIGHTY-THIRD CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION 77

JULY 30 AND 31, 1953

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

INCLUDING INDEX



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UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1953

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946], chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

- * * * * *
- (q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.
(A) Un-American activities.
(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 83D CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 3, 1953

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress, the following standing committees:

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American Activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States; (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

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HEARINGS REGARDING JACK R. McMICHAEL

THURSDAY, JULY 30, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE OF UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10:10 a. m., in the caucus room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript), and James B. Frazier, Jr. (appearance noted in transcript).

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; James A. Andrews, investigator; Earl L. Fuoss, George C. Williams, and George E. Cooper, investigators; Leslie C. Scott, research analyst; Mrs. Juliette Joray, assistant to the chief clerk; and Kathryn Zimmerman, staff representative.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Let the record show that present are Mr. Jackson, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Walter, Mr. Moulder, and the chairman, Mr. Velde, a quorum.

Before commencing the hearing this morning I would like to remind the members of the committee, the press, and the public that we are obligated under Public Law 601 to investigate subversive activities and propaganda and to report thereon to the Congress for the purposes of remedial legislation.

The committee has done its best to follow its line of duty in this respect, and, in this hearing, therefore, I must insist that we follow the regular rules of procedure which have been adopted by our committee.

The committee is unanimous, I am sure, in the feeling that it should not be used as a forum for any religious dispute. I, therefore, respectfully request of the witness and the members of the hearing this morning be confined to the jurisdiction of this committee.

The Chair will do its utmost to assure every member of this committee as well as the witness ample opportunity to make statements, ask and answer questions, which are in line with the purposes and aims of the United States Congress in the establishment of this committee.

With that, will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Will the Reverend Jack McMichael please step forward?

He was subpoenaed, Mr. Chairman, for 10 o'clock. It is now almost a quarter after 10. If he is slightly delayed——

Mr. VELDE. Well, of course, we should give the witness a reasonable opportunity to appear.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then, I respectfully request that we take a few moments respite here while we wait for the witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 10:14 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:24 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 10:20 a. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, the witness is now present. Would the witness please stand to be sworn?

Mr. VELDE. Will you raise your right hand, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do.

Mr. Chairman, back in the country town where I've come from it's 7 o'clock in the morning.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I ask for regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wanted to——

Mr. CLARDY. We haven't addressed a question to the witness yet.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am sorry. I was told I was to make this request myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, perhaps it would be facilitated if I ask the witness if he has counsel present with him.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. Mr. Donner.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would counsel please state his name and home office address for the record?

Mr. DONNER. My name is Frank J. Donner. My home office address is 104 East 40th Street, New York City.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is counsel familiar with the printed rules and regulations of this committee?

Mr. DONNER. Well, I should explain I was called by the Methodist Federation for Social Action last night to appear before the committee in order to ask for an adjournment on Mr. McMichael's behalf; that I haven't had a chance to familiarize myself with the rules, because I was called in so suddenly. The regular counsel is Mr. Royal France, who is on vacation now, and it was proposed to the committee that an adjournment be asked until Mr. France could be here to act as Mr. McMichael's counsel.

Mr. WALTER. I am sure the witness doesn't need counsel. Of course, he is entitled to counsel but when any legal questions arise you can certainly advise him. You don't have to know anything about the facts. You know the Constitution.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I just briefly—I don't want to press this point at all. I have come from a small town in California, Mr. Chairman, and found myself somewhat unprepared so far as documentation and materials are concerned about things I

thought you would be interested in, and could have—had I been given more time—could have prepared myself a little better; but I don't want to press this point at all, if you don't want to make it.

And I would just like, in courtesy to you, to say it is 7 o'clock in California and I regret being a little bit late, but it's partly because I wanted to be helpful today and I have been trying to get these documents together.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Reverend. When did you arrive in Washington?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I arrived yesterday in Washington and I have been trying to get hold of material I didn't have in Upper Lake, Calif., because I thought—I understood from the subpoena—you wanted material on my association with the federation. I have been trying to meet that request, because—

Mr. VELDE. Did you hire other counsel before your present counsel? (Representative James B. Frazier, Jr., entered the hearing room at this point.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. Let me explain that so the record will be clear.

My annual conference—the California-Nevada Conference of the Methodist Church—has a board of lay activities, and the lay leader of the district, in which my church is, is also a lawyer and was engaged by the chairman of the conference board of lay activities as my attorney, and did function in terms of telephone calls; but, as we thought about it, it seemed that the expense was pretty great. I'm not—I'm just a poor Methodist preacher. It would have involved the old Methodist custom of passing the hat, with which you would be familiar—passing the collection plate.

Mr. WALTER. Where are you stopping at in Washington?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mayflower Hotel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who passed the hat for that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I assume this committee will pay my expenses, Mr. Chairman. Isn't that true?

Mr. VELDE. What is your request?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am under subpoena.

Mr. VELDE. Will you state your wish so we may get on with this hearing?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I was only saying I wasn't pressing the point about a hearing adjournment. The gentleman—I don't know his name—made the suggestion I wouldn't need counsel. That is perfectly all right with me. I won't press that point at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I would like the record to show, since I dealt with Mr. George Dilley—D-i-l-l-e-y—that on July 28 Mr. Dilley called from Santa Rosa, Calif., stated that he was the counsel for Reverend McMichael, that he would be present here today, and he made arrangements with me over the phone with regard to flights on airplanes, and so forth. He stated that he had a copy of our printed rules of procedure and that he understood them, and that he would meet me here in Washington yesterday.

I waited all day yesterday, sir; but I never heard from either Reverend McMichael or Mr. George Dilley, who is a member of the California bar.

(Representative Francis E. Walter left the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. KUNZIG. This morning at about 25 minutes of 10—probably 25 minutes before this hearing was scheduled to begin—I received a telephone call from Mr. Donner, who is present here acting as counsel. That is the first I knew or any of us knew there was a shift in counsel, sir: and I think that should be made clear for the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, it is true——

Mr. CLARDY. You may remain seated.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, that is all right. I am sorry. That will be much more comfortable.

Mr. George Dilley is counsel from the standpoint of my annual conference, and the group back there, which is backing me fully, and Mr. Donner is substituting for Mr. France, who's been ill and on vacation and unable to be here at this time, on behalf of the federation.

There were 2 subpenas, and 1 bore on the Federation and 1 was to me personally.

Mr. Dilley phoned Mr. Kunzig——

I think this is probably Mr. Kunzig here——

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And told him I would be at the Mayflower Hotel yesterday morning, and gave him the flight schedule. I arrived and was there, and stayed all morning.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Reverend McMichael.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. You and your former counsel, Mr. Dilley, were both familiar with the rules of procedure?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I've—I've had the rules and looked over them. I'll do the best I can. I'm not a lawyer, but I'm not worried about that.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. You understood, from going over the rules, the function of counsel is that solely of advising you as to your constitutional rights?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. If at any time during the course of the hearing there is, in your mind, a question as to your constitutional rights, as to whether or not you should answer the question, you, of course, may consult with your counsel.

Counsel has a somewhat restricted activity before the committee, in that his purpose is that of giving advice on constitutional questions when requested.

It appears to me, in light of that, that one counsel may serve your purpose almost as well as another——

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. And I would suggest, if you are not inclined to labor the point——

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. JACKSON. We proceed, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

(Representative Francis E. Walter reentered the hearing room at this point.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. VELDE. We will proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Just to conclude——

Mr. VELDE. The Chair concurs with the gentleman from California.
Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman——
Mr. VELDE. Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?
Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman——
Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman.
Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

**TESTIMONY OF REV. JACK RICHARD McMICHAEL, ACCOMPANIED
BY HIS COUNSEL, FRANK J. DONNER**

Mr. KUNZIG. Reverend McMichael, will you please state your full name for the record?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Jack Richard McMichael.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you spell it, please?

Reverend McMICHAEL. J-a-c-k R-i-c-h-a-r-d M-c-M-i-c-h-a-e-l.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your present address, sir?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Upper Lake, Calif.; box 276. I live on Church Street, next door to the Methodist Church.

Mr. KUNZIG. What is your age, Reverend McMichael?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was born February 25, 1917.

Mr. KUNZIG. You are, therefore, what—35?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That would be 36.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thirty-six.

Would you tell the committee where you were born, sir?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Q-u-i-t-m-a-n—Quitman, Ga.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, would you give the committee, please, a résumé of your educational background?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was—I'm a graduate of Quitman High School, Quitman, Ga., High School, of course. I went through grammar school and high school there. Following graduation from Quitman High School, I went to Methodist University, outside of Atlanta, Emory University, and graduated from there with my bachelor of arts degree, taking preministerial work there, and I received my bachelor of divinity degree from Union Theological Seminary in New York City; and, on the traveling fellowship which that seminary offers to a student, I went to the Pacific School of Religion to prepare for the chaplaincy and also to serve a pastorate in California. and at the same time did further graduate work at the Pacific School of Religion, which is in Berkeley, Calif., where I received a master of sacred theology degree.

I have done further work in preparation for doctorate in the field of religion at Columbia University, and have completed a matriculation examination but have not yet done my dissertation on that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you now, please, sir, give the committee a résumé of your employment background—your assignments—since you became a minister?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

I was first assigned in the—when I became a member of the California-Nevada Conference—prior to that, though, it was a ministerial assignment. I was assigned to Arkansas for two summers during my theological seminary work at Union Seminary, and worked under the Home Missions Council on one of those years, the latter of those 2 years, which was connected with the Federal council—it's now the National Council of Churches—and then the—another year I worked under the board of home missions of the Presbyterian Church, United

States of America—that is, one summer—among sharecropper folk, largely in Arkansas.

Then, I have served as a—as a preacher, really, since high-school days in my home church, and on revivals, and things of that kind, and during school years did some preaching; but I was appointed, after seminary, to the Court Street Methodist Church—C-o-u-r-t Methodist Church, Alameda, Calif., and was in that church until I was invited by a naval commander to become a chaplain at the Coast Guard base there in Alameda, and became a chaplain then in the middle of that year, and resigned from that local pastorate, with the full backing of the bishop and church authorities, and was a chaplain then in the United States Maritime Service, and was assigned in Alameda at the United States Maritime Service Officers' Training School; and at the completion of that work, on the urging of my bishop, I left that to go, in 1945, into the Methodist Federation for Social Service, it was then called, and that name was changed at our annual membership meeting.

I think the House committee wanted that information for its review. They said they didn't know when that happened.

Mr. KUNZIG. What date was that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That was in December of 1946, going over into January of 1947, and it was at Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Ill., and the name was changed to social action, because some people misinterpreted the organization as being a professional social-work organization; and I worked with that organization as executive secretary until—and having under appointment and a full member of my annual conference, which is the California-Nevada Conference of the Methodist Church—it was formerly called the California Conference, but it was changed—until June of this year, when I resigned from that work in order to accept a pastorate, to which—to which the bishop had invited me, and I am now the pastor of the Community Methodist Church in Upper Lake, Calif.

I think that completes the résumé.

Now, you asked about employment. I was also employed by the National Young Men's Christian Association for a period of 2 years, between—and in part with the YWCA, but primarily with the YMCA, especially for student work, in the 2-year period between my graduation from Emory University in Georgia and my entry on scholarship into Union Theological Seminary.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. What was the date of that employment?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That YMCA employment was from the beginning or the fall of 1937—I graduated from Emory in June of 1937—to the completion of the academic year, 1938-39, to the summer of 1939, prior to entering the seminary in 1939.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Reverend McMichael, I have here a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 1" for identification, which is a copy of a page from the November 1937 issue of the *Fight*. The *Fight*¹ was a publica-

¹ *Fight*:

1. Cited as the official organ of the American League Against War and Fascism, later known as the American League for Peace and Democracy. (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 113 and 128; also cited in report, June 25, 1942, p. 15).

tion of the American League Against War and Fascism² which, of course, is well known by this time as a cited Communist-front organization. This publication lists Jack R. McMichael as one of the endorsers of the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy.³ Did you endorse the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Perhaps if you could share that document with me——

Mr. KUNZIG. I would be glad to show it to you sir. It is on the right there.

That was roughly in 1937.

May I state for the record the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy has been cited by the California Committee on Un-American Activities. The meeting of the People's Congress in 1937 spawned the American League for Peace and Democracy,⁴ another cited organization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It says here, Mr. Chairman, "We can mention at this early date Jack R. McMichael, cochairman of the National Inter-Collegiate Christian Council," and then it names other people from the YWCA—Joseph P. Lash, from the American——

Mr. KUNZIG. Just answer the question, will you, please?

Did you sponsor this Communist-front organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I don't have that exhaustive a memory, Mr. Chairman, to be certain about that, as to whether I did. I can say I was never a member of the organization you refer to—the American League—but I could have done that. I just—that's a pretty long time ago, and I'm not sure. I would be glad to look it up and see if I have any record about it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was against war and fascism, as far as that goes, though.

²American League Against War and Fascism:

1. Cited as subversive and Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.)

2. A "Communist-front organization" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

3. "Established in the United States in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, Sept. 24, 1942, p. 7683).

4. "The American League Against War and Fascism was organized at the First United States Congress Against War which was held in New York City, September 29 to October 1, 1933. Four years later at Pittsburgh, November 26-28, 1937, the name of the organization was changed to the American League for Peace and Democracy. * * * It remained as completely under the control of Communists when the name was changed as it had been before" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 53; also cited in reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69 and 121; January 3, 1940, p. 10; June 25, 1942, p. 14).

³People's Congress for Peace and Democracy:

1. The above, "meeting in Pittsburgh in November 1937, spawned the American League for Peace and Democracy" (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1948, p. 150).

⁴American League for Peace and Democracy:

1. Cited as subversive and Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948).

2. Established in the United States in 1937 as successor to the American League Against War and Fascism "in an effort to create public sentiment on behalf of a foreign policy adapted to the interests of the Soviet Union. * * * The American League for Peace and Democracy * * * was designed to conceal Communist control, in accordance with the new tactics of the Communist International" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, pp. 7683 and 7684).

3. "The largest of the Communist 'front' movements in the United States is the American League for Peace and Democracy, formerly known as the American League Against War and Fascism, and, at the time of its inception, as the United States Congress Against War. * * * The League contends publicly that it is not a Communist-front movement, yet at the very beginning Communists dominated it. Earl Browder was its vice president." * * * "An examination of the program of the American League will show that the organization was nothing more or less than a bold advocate of treason" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, reports, January 3, 1939, pp. 69-71, and March 29, 1944, p. 37; January 3, 1940, p. 10; January 3, 1941, p. 21; June 25, 1942, pp. 14-16; January 2, 1943, p. 8).

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence this document as McMichael Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted in evidence at this point.

(The document referred to, the Fight (magazine) November 1937, p. 28, article, Youth Notes, by James Lerner, was received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 1.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 1

[The Fight, November 1937, p. 28]

YOUTH NOTES

(By James Lerner)

After many weeks of careful discussion and thought, the United Student Peace Committee is prepared to issue its program for Armistice Day demonstrations. This platform represents a tremendous advance over that which was issued by the same group in April for the student strike. At that time, although the need for cooperation by the people of the world was recognized, the committee advocated stringent neutrality legislation. There was no appraisal of the differences between aggressors and victims and no effort to rally support for the victims of aggression.

But students will learn. Now the committee declares boldly: "We must help the Chinese people in their struggle against Japanese aggression"; it approves of collecting aid for the students of China who are victims of this aggression; it supports "the demand for the withdrawal of foreign troops in Spain" and urges "our Government to extend its present embargo" to Italy, Germany, and Portugal if this is not granted.

There are other important sections of the program, but this indicates what a tremendous advance has been made by a committee which represents the leading groups at work on the American campus. The President's denunciation of aggression in his Chicago speech, therefore, will receive hearty response from students.

The Armistice Day program, however, omits an appeal for a people's boycott of Japanese goods. There is no other understaking which can solidify American support for China and at the same time strike at the shaky financial structure of Japan as can the boycott, and it should sweep the campus like wildfire within a short time.

There are a few organizations opposed to the boycott for fear that it will be used to develop a "hate" campaign against the Japanese people. The guaranty that this won't happen lies in the groups which support such a move. To have it come from Hearst would be one thing, but when labor, student, peace, and religious groups couple their boycott with pledges of sympathy to the people of Japan, as has invariably been the case, we fail to see the "hate" danger. At our Madison Square Garden meeting where we opened the boycott campaign, Japanese contributed money to assist.

So a number of student and youth groups will see to it that Japanese toothbrushes, silks, and other articles are not bought. If we can keep Santa Claus from bringing in a load of toys from Japan, there will be fewer made-in-America bombs falling in China this Christmas.

The forward step taken by the United Student Peace Committee should help make the People's Congress for Democracy and Peace a huge success. Already we have secured endorsements from a number of prominent youth leaders. We can mention at this early date Jack R. McMichael, cochairman, of the National Inter-Collegiate Christian Council; Robert G. Spivack, secretary of International Student Service; Joseph P. Lash, secretary of the American Student Union; A. L. Sachar, head of the Hillel Foundation; John Lewis, president of the Young People's League (United Synagogues of America); and Rose Troiano, chairman of the Industrial Council of the YWCA.

The particular value of our Congress to student and youth groups is that it will help illuminate the path to a more effective program and bring them into cooperation with other sections of the population. The cross-fertilization will be scientifically correct and socially invaluable.

If you went to the movies this month and saw a picture of a fellow picketing young Mussolini's press conference in New York, you should be told that the picketer was Gordon Sloane, our New York youth director.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, I have——

Reverend McMICHAEL. If at any time, Mr. Chairman, you want me to do further research on these particular points—of course, not having had them—I'll be glad to do that and submit for the record, if you want to keep it open, any—any further word on it.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I think you should state to the best of your recollection——

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right. I don't have any recollection.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). The truth about it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. But he has a document which says so. Of course, you don't always have to believe everything that's written in print, you know. It may be true; it may not. I don't know.

Mr. JACKSON. But to the best of your recollection this is not true?

Reverend McMICHAEL. To the best of my recollection, I have no memory about it whatsoever.

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. Before we embark on another line, may I get this straightened out?

You entered the Union Theological Seminary in 1939?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. WALTER. Were you in Ohio in 1940?

Reverend McMICHAEL. During the year of 1940, was I in Ohio?

Well, at what particular date do you have in mind?

Mr. WALTER. Well, in the early summer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Early summer of 1940.

Let me—occasionally, Mr. Chairman, I want to take just a moment to try to do a little recollecting because I want to be as helpful as I can.

Mr. WALTER. Well, you weren't employed there?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In the end—the summer of 1949—I have no recollection of being in Ohio. I was in Arkansas. I referred to working under the board of home missions——

Mr. WALTER. Yes.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The Presbyterian Church, U. S. A. They would have some records about that, and I think—I am sure I went into that work in June, and was there through the summer. So, I don't think I was—I don't have any recollection of being there.

Incidentally, I brought along some diaries and perhaps it would be helpful—some old diaries—because I thought some of these questions might come up—if you just give me a minute, I could look in my 1940 diary, because I have that, and take—and see whether or not—because I know you want an answer to that question, and I want to be as helpful as I can on it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have a little reminder here which might help the reverend, if I may be permitted to continue.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; I think we would be glad to have counsel refresh your recollection on any material he has.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have here and should like to read for the record a statement written and sworn to and signed by Martha N. Edmiston—E-d-m-i-s-t-o-n—and John J. Edmiston—E-d-m-i-s-t-o-n—of Wayne Township, Warren County, Ohio.

With the chairman's permission, sir, I should like to read pertinent portions of this document into the record.

Mr. VELDE. Permission is granted.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I just mention this——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. The counsel—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, I'm sorry.

Mr. KUNZIG (reading):

Before me, the undersigned authority, this day personally appeared Martha N. Edmiston and John J. Edmiston, to me well known and known to be the subscribers hereto, and, being by me first duly sworn, deposed and said that they are residents of Wayne Township, Warren County, Ohio, and they further deposed and said as follows:

That during the years 1940 and 1941 they were members of the Communist Party of the United States of America, having joined this conspiracy while working as undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. That they also were members of several Communist transmission line or front organizations, such as the Workers' Alliance of America, the Emergency Peace Mobilization, the American Peace Mobilization, the YANKS—Y-A-N-K-S (The Yanks are Not Coming), the North Side Peace League, the Linden Peace League, the South Side Peace League, the latter three being local front groups in Columbus, Ohio, and—

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read):

And from time to time—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. Will you wait for the counsel, please?

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read):

And from time to time served as delegates and observers from these groups to meetings of the Ohio Youth Congress, the Southern Ohio Youth Conference, and the American Youth Congress, at the direction of Communist Party officials as a part of their regular Communist Party assignments.

That they first met the Reverend Jack R. McMichael in Columbus, Ohio, at a meeting of the Ohio Youth Congress in the Southern Hotel. To the best of their recollection, this meeting was held in May or June of 1940. At the time the deponents were members of the Franklin County, Ohio, chapter of the Workers' Alliance of America, an organization which was then under the complete domination of the Communist Party. At the Workers' Alliance meeting just prior to the opening of the Ohio Youth Congress the Workers' Alliance selected delegates to the congress. These included the deponent, Martha Edmiston, Lula Mae Leigh, and others whose names the deponents do not recollect at this time.

To the best of these deponents' recollection, the sessions of the Congress occupied 2 or 3 days and some 200 delegates and American Youth Congress officials were present.

Then it goes on and lists their names—very many Communists who were present.

They go on to say:

That the Workers' Alliance delegates to the congress received their instructions from Jack Perloff, P-e-r-l-o-f-f—Young Communist League organizer, and Joseph Socoloff, S-o-c-o-l-o-f-f—Communist Party organizer.

All advance literature on the Ohio Youth Congress was distributed from the Franklin County Headquarters of the Communist Party at Sixth Avenue and Summit Streets, Columbus.

The principal speakers and prime movers at the Ohio Youth Congress were the three top-ranking officers of the American Youth Congress: The Reverend Jack R. McMichael, AYC Chairman—American Youth Congress Chairman—Joseph Cadden—C-a-d-d-e-n—and Robert (Bobbie) Thompson—T-h-o-m-p-s-o-n—American Youth Congress. All spoke and outlined the purposes and program of the Congress. These purposes were incorporated in resolutions at the final session of the Congress.

That in substance these resolutions set forth:

(1) The Ohio Youth Congress and the AYC was against any American intervention in World War II.

(2) Against any assistance to the allies, either in shipments of munitions or supplies or any convoys to protect them.

(3) Against conscription and military training.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

(4) That—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are we trying to find the date, or are we going into these other matters?

I thought—

Mr. VELDE. The counsel is reading from an affidavit—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I know. I've seen that before.

Mr. VELDE. In order to refresh your recollection.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He didn't refresh my recollection.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If it's to help me, he's not doing that.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I've read that already, and it didn't refresh me. So, I think he's wasting his time, if that is the purpose.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, let's have regular order.

Mr. VELDE. Regular order.

Will the counsel proceed?

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

That the OYC and AYC would support the YANKS organization which recently had been formed at the direction of the Communist Party by one of Harry Bridges' Communist-controlled unions on the west coast.

(5) Would join in forming organizations which would send delegates to a proposed Emergency Peace Mobilization to be held in Chicago in the late summer.

The deponents noted that the various pieces of peace literature which were passed out at the sessions of the OYC had been received and were distributed from the local Communist Party headquarters. The resolutions noted above were mimeographed at the conclusion of the Congress on the local Communist Party's mimeograph, loaned for the occasion by E. S. Grattan, Communist Secretary.

During a recess in one of the evening sessions an event occurred which the deponents found rather odd and amusing. The deponents, Martha Edmiston and John Edmiston, were standing on the mezzanine floor with E. S. Grattan, Communist Party secretary; Jack Perloff, YCL organizer; and Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party organizer. This group was joined by the Reverend Jack McMichael and Robert Thompson. (This is the same Robert Thompson who later became general secretary of the Communist Party of New York, who was convicted in the New York Federal Court of teaching the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence, and who now is at large, having jumped bail following his conviction.) Thompson and the Reverend Jack McMichael launched into a discussion of alleged attempts by FBI agents to infiltrate the American Youth Congress.

It must be remembered this document was prepared and sworn to by two FBI agents. [Reading:]

This led to further remarks—

Mr. VELDE. Now, just a moment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Pardon me—two FBI agents, in the sense of undercover agents, sir.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

This led to further remarks by the two AYC officials on how to spot an FBI agent in Communist Party meetings. The deponents found this both educational and entertaining.

The deponents' next meeting with the Reverend Jack McMichael was at the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago, August 31, 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I—

Mr. VELDE. Well, now, do I understand that the witness has read this affidavit?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Read it? I don't know. I want to find my copy so I can go along with him, you see. Just give me a moment to do that.

Mr. KUNZIG. We have another copy here to do that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Let me find my copy.

Mr. VELDE. Let me ask the witness—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought the purpose, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. Has your memory been refreshed—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not in the slightest, sir.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). So that you have any recollection—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not in the slightest, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I suggest counsel continue and conclude the reading of this affidavit.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You can put the affidavit in, but the purpose alleged, Mr. Chairman, was to refresh my memory, and I have got better sources of doing that.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I interrupt?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The purpose, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. CLARDY. I suggest the witness be instructed to remain silent until the conclusion of the reading of the affidavit—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I—

Mr. CLARDY. And the proper question has been propounded to him.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I make a request?

Mr. CLARDY. Now, I think the proper order should be observed, as you so carefully outlined at the beginning.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; counsel will proceed in regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, that is all right—I am not trying to stop that—

Mr. VELDE. Just a moment.

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I would like to be able to follow his reading, because I have a copy.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, we will give you a copy.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I have a copy.

Mr. KUNZIG. You may have a copy.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I want my own copy, please.

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask—

Mr. VELDE. I believe the witness should have an opportunity to look at his own copy, if he prefers to do that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If I can lay my hands on that, I can do that, because he's reading a lot which doesn't bear on where I was in the summer of 1940.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may the witness be admonished to remain silent until the question is directed to him?

Mr. VELDE. The Chair has already—

Mr. CLARDY. We have a busy schedule today, as you know.

Mr. VELDE. I realize that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You are using a lot of time with an alleged purpose.

Mr. VELDE. I have tried to be as fair to the witness as possible, and as fair to the members of the committee as possible.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I can't see how any particular purpose is served by the witness having his own copy. We will gladly give him a copy, and I request permission to continue reading this document into the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, the point is, I want to see if my copy, which I received through the mail——

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Agrees with this copy. I don't know. These things can be changed.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I just want——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Mr. JACKSON. I suggest when the printed transcript is available that if the copy that the witness has does not agree with the copy that is being read by counsel that matter be adjusted at that time; and now, in the interest of time, that counsel proceed with the reading of the affidavit.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; the Chair agrees.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I suggest he just dispense with the reading of it.

Mr. VELDE. This will probably be a long hearing, and we don't want to stay here all night.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; of course not.

Mr. KUNZIG. There has been a suggestion——

Mr. VELDE. So I ask the counsel proceed and the witness please not interrupt until the counsel has finished and asked his question.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

The deponents' next meeting with the Reverend Jack McMichael was at the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago, August 31, 1940. The deponents, who covered this meeting for the FBI, were able to report that this convention was entirely Communist-hatched and Communist-dominated. It was at this 3-day meeting that the Communist Party sought to pull all of its various front organizations and captive unions into a national convention to form yet another huge subversive organization. During the previous months the deponents had been able to trace the course of the Emergency Peace Mobilization from the formation of apparently unrelated and spontaneous peace leagues into a national network of peace organizations, carefully nurtured, guided, and completely dominated by the Communist Party.

Held in the Chicago Stadium, the Emergency Peace Mobilization was attended by more than 23,000 delegates.

The Reverend Jack McMichael was one of the principal speakers at the Emergency Peace Mobilization. He spoke at the anticonscription rally held in the stadium on the first day of the meeting at 8 p. m. Dr. John B. Thompson was general chairman of the rally.

On the final day of the Emergency Peace Mobilization the new organization, the American Peace Mobilization, was founded. At that time the Reverend Jack McMichael was named vice chairman of the new organization.

The objects of this organization are well known: In short, they were to keep America from rendering any assistance to the allies, from taking defense measures, and to impose every kind of opposition to the building up of America's armed services. This organization long has been on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The deponents further depose and say that the Communist Party instantly abandoned its peace activities when Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941. Until that very day the American Peace Mobilization was the Communist Party's principal front organization for weakening America's military defense. Shortly after that date the American Peace Mobilization had a change of name to the American People's Movement——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is he still refreshing my memory, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

And the group now called for all-out aid to Soviet Russia and the allies, urged American intervention in the war and the setting up of a second front.

On July 4, 1941, the deponent, Martha Edmiston, attended a national conference of the American Youth Congress in Town Hall, Philadelphia, at which time the Communist Party officially announced the change in the party line to the American Youth Congress.

Once again, the Reverend Jack McMichael took a leading role in the conference. He was at that time the chairman of the American Youth Congress and vice chairman of the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

At that meeting, attended by some 1,500 delegates of the youth organization and allied Communist-front groups, the Communists abruptly dropped all peace programs and began talking about youth for victory.

The deponent, Martha Edmiston, sat with the Reverend Jack McMichael on a panel devoted to aid to China, at which time Mr. McMichael discussed conditions in China under Japanese occupation and the urgency of need for American aid.

The deponent attended this meeting as a delegate of the Workers' Alliance of America, Hamilton County Chapter, Cincinnati. Her appointment as a delegate and her instructions were given by Marjorie Dowers—that is D-o-w-e-r-s—open Communist and member of the Hamilton County, Ohio, Communist Party's executive committee, and Joanne Moore—M-o-o-r-e—secretary of the Hamilton County Young Communist League. All delegates from the Cincinnati area attending this convention were members of the Communist Party. All persons to whom the deponent was introduced in Philadelphia were introduced as Communist Party members.

There was some friction at the meeting. The Communists had to force their party-line change down the throats of a small minority of delegates who were Socialists, but in general the conference went smoothly and the American Youth Congress made its about-turn, meekly accepting the new Communist Party line as its program, as it had accepted the peace slogan in the past.

The deponent further notes that this was the first of any of the meetings of the American Youth Congress or any of its affiliated organizations at which she heard the Star Spangled Banner sung.

In December 1941, both deponents were expelled from the Communist Party as "proven FBI spies." They testified to some of the facts contained above at a hearing before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities in 1950.

On or about July 18, 1950, the deponents again met the Reverend Jack McMichael.

That was July 18, 1950.

He was at that time the executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The occasion of meeting him was the conference of the Federation at Wilberforce University. Mr. McMichael was one of the principal speakers at the meeting. Also speaking with him was Dr. John B. Thompson who had spoken with Mr. McMichael at the Emergency Peace Mobilization 10 years before.

At the Wilberforce meeting Mr. McMichael—

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I be refreshed with what happened in the summer of 1940?

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

At the Wilberforce meeting Mr. McMichael voiced—

Reverend McMICHAEL. He's not talking about 1940.

Mr. VELDE. If the witness please—

Reverend McMICHAEL. He is dealing with 1950 now.

Mr. KUNZIG. I don't think the witness desires to have his memory refreshed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You are not refreshing me about 1940. This is 1950 you are talking about now.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

At the Wilberforce meeting Mr. McMichael voiced what then was the accepted Communist Party line. He blamed America for aggression in Korea and saw the United Nations as an invader.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

Absolving Soviet Russia of blame, he—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question?

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

And other speakers—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. The Chair has respectfully requested you desist until the counsel—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I just want to know—

Mr. VELDE. Finishes reading—

Reverend McMICHAEL. What I'm supposed to get out of this. Am I supposed to answer all of this now or am I supposed to tell you what I did in 1940?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is the way it started—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What did I do in 1940, or was I in Ohio. That was the question. He's gotten way off that.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. JACKSON.

Mr. JACKSON. I assume questions based on this will be asked the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct.

Mr. JACKSON. Is that correct, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. That is correct, Mr. JACKSON.

Mr. VELDE. Then will you proceed, Mr. Counsel—and please without interruption, Reverend McMichael.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing to read) :

At the Wilberforce meeting Mr. McMichael voiced what then was the accepted Communist Party line. He blamed America for aggression in Korea and saw the United Nations as an invader. Absolving Soviet Russia of blame, he and other speakers at the meeting advocated the immediate withdrawal of United Nations troops from Korea. He also advocated the recognition of Red China's "democratic government of the people of China" by the United Nations. He spoke against conscription and defense rearmament.

At this meeting, attended by relatively few delegates, there appeared a report prepared by several members of the Methodist Federation for Social Action urging the ousting of Mr. McMichael as executive secretary for his known activities in Communist-front organizations. This report, containing more than 20 pages, listed 48 Communist Party front organizations in which, the report charged, Mr. McMichael had been active since the beginning of 1948.

The deponents learned that this report, however, failed to create any wide distrust in Mr. McMichael on the part of the great majority of the delegates. On the contrary, they gave him a vote of confidence, voting to retain his services by an overwhelming majority.

Unfortunately, the deponents had no opportunity to talk with the Reverend Jack McMichael at this meeting. When the deponent, John Edmiston, caught Mr. McMichael's eye, Mr. McMichael hurriedly left the room and the deponents were unable to interview him.

Witness the signatures of the deponents this 31st day of January 1953.

(Signed) MARTHA N. EDMISTON.

JOHN J. EDMISTON.

Sworn to and subscribed before me, a notary public in and for said county and State, on the above date in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

(Signed) MARY C. YOUNG,

Notary Public, Hamilton County, Ohio.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest counsel give the witness the copy which he has read and then ask his questions?

Mr. KUNZIG. I gave him one, sir, 10 minutes ago.

Mr. MOULDER. I mean that copy you read, because he is still searching for one.

Mr. KUNZIG. I gave him the one.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, give him that one.

Mr. KUNZIG. Sir, I need this one.

Mr. MOULDER. I think you can give him that.

Mr. KUNZIG. I've given him one.

Mr. MOULDER. Well, give him that.

Mr. WALTER. Give him two.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You mean those are the only ones you have, Mr. Kunzig—you just have that one copy?

Mr. KUNZIG. I have given the witness one, Mr. Moulder.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is that all you have?

Mr. KUNZIG. And, Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request I be allowed to continue to ask questions.

Mr. VELDE. Well, will you—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I thought he was refreshing my memory.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. VELDE. Counsel has requested permission to ask questions, and certainly it is his prerogative to do that, and the committee's prerogative to do that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. VELDE. Counsel will ask the questions.

I regret to say we have had a call of the House, and we must recess in very short order. So, will you make your questions as simple as possible and short as possible?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, what is the question which I am supposed to answer?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Mr. JACKSON. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Is it going to be necessary to admonish the witness every 30 seconds, or are we—

Mr. VELDE. I was in hopes it wouldn't be.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, wasn't I supposed to answer a question about 1940?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought I was supposed to answer a question about 1940.

Mr. VELDE. Now, just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm sorry.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question the counsel has for you?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, so the record may be clear, I have read into the record this affidavit by the Edmestons, and now I intend, sir, to ask questions based on this sworn affidavit by two American citizens.

Reverend McMichael, were you present in Ohio at the meeting to which we have just referred, at which 200 delegates came together from the American Youth Congress? ⁵

⁵ American Youth Congress:

1. Cited as subversive and Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

2. "It originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them in influence the thought of American youth" (Attorney General Francis

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would you repeat that, please, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you have asked for a question several times.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. KUNZIG. I will be glad to repeat it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Thank you.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would the reporter please read it back?

(The reporter read the question, as follows:)

Reverend McMichael, were you present in Ohio at the meeting to which we have just referred, at which 200 delegates came together from the American Youth Congress?

Mr. DOYLE. I suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the counsel——

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I suggest the counsel in his question, for the purpose of absolute identification, fix the date and the place——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Right.

Mr. DOYLE (continuing). Of this meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. I will be glad to restate it, Mr. Doyle. I will be glad to say it once again.

It was the Ohio Youth Congress in the Southern Hotel, May or June of 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I have my diary for 1940 before me.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Chairman, I submit that is not an answer to the question—whether he has his diary before him or not.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I think——

Mr. SCHERER. Now, just a minute.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute.

Mr. VELDE. We have always required the witness to answer the question——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I intend to answer it.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). And make any explanation, which I think is very fair.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I think certainly I have the right to consult my diary to find out.

Mr. VELDE. Now, will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; after I have consulted my diary to find out whether I was there or not.

Mr. VELDE. All right; you may consult it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

May or June—I am starting the 1st of May, and going down.

I'm prepared to answer the question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. All right; please answer it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. On the basis of consulting not only my memory, but also my diary, which I did keep for the period of May and June 1940, I must say that I'm confident I did not attend any such meeting in Ohio in May or June of 1940. I'm confident that I would have noted it in my diary here and that I would have some memory about it. I have no memory of it, nor does my diary bear that out.

Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7685; also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, p. 10).

3. "One of the principal fronts of the Communist Party" and "prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, June 25, 1942, p. 16; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939, p. 82; January 3, 1941, p. 21; and March 29, 1944, p. 102).

Mr. KUNZIG. Let's change the question: Were you present at any such conference in Ohio at any time during 1940?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Just a minute.

Mr. KUNZIG. As I said before, of course, we are referring to a conference in the Southern Hotel, Columbus, Ohio——

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would like to make a statement.

I was wrong about having a call of the House. It was merely the warning bell. So, we will proceed in regular order as soon as the Reverend McMichael has had a chance to consult his diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Would the witness care for a recess?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; it's perfectly all right, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your courtesy on that.

I've gone through my diary. I wish somebody were keeping a record of time as to how much time it took and compare that with the brother's reading of that document, because I had a feeling there was some pressure on me and I had a sense of psychological pressure as I was reading through this diary. I want you to know the atmosphere as I was reading through it. However, I have gone through the diary and, on the basis of the diary, as I read it under those conditions, in 1940, and on the basis of my memory, I reaffirm that I'm confident that I have no recollection of and have no evidence of—and I think this is a source of good evidence—attending any such meeting in 1940.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. May I ask a question?

Did I understand you to say, sir, you have in your possession a copy of the affidavit of the Edmistons?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I wanted the privilege of finding that.

Mr. JACKSON. But you have gone over that; have you?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have read it through hurriedly.

Mr. JACKSON. In some detail?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I've read it.

Mr. JACKSON. You said it was not necessary to refresh your recollection because you were in possession of a copy of the affidavit?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wanted the help of having a copy before me. You can understand that.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, having gone over it——

Reverend McMICHAEL. You didn't give me that privilege.

Mr. JACKSON. Having seen that these statements were made under oath, did you not make an effort at that time to determine whether or not you were at the places alleged——

Reverend McMICHAEL. The incident——

Mr. JACKSON (continuing). At the times stated?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. There is a question pending.

Mr. DOYLE. I know, but——

Mr. VELDE. I will recognize you as soon as the witness answers the question.

Mr. JACKSON. You very clearly stated it was not necessary to refresh your memory on these points because you had had an opportunity to go over the affidavit and that it was a total waste of time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I think it was——

Mr. JACKSON. Now, on the first questions——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Completely, as far as the——

Mr. JACKSON (continuing). Put to you by counsel, it is necessary for you to go to other sources to refresh your memory.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I should assume you want information; if you want information, you would want me to be as accurate as possible in my answers. This is a source of information.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question there?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Mr. Doyle. May we allow the witness to answer the question?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, I think my question is foundation, though.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Mr. Doyle.

Proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What is the question now I'm supposed to answer?

Mr. JACKSON. The question is: Did the affidavit refresh your memory to the extent you told the committee a little while ago it had refreshed it and it wasn't necessary to read it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, it wasn't necessary; and furthermore, he went into 1950. He wasn't refreshing my memory in 1940.

Mr. JACKSON. We are asking you specifically about things which you have stated it was not necessary to refresh your memory on.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. JACKSON. On the very first questions asked you, however, we find a considerable amount of refreshment is required in the form of your diary.

Now, did the affidavit refresh your memory in any way?

Reverend McMICHAEL. His reading refreshed my memory in no way whatsoever.

Mr. JACKSON. It is still necessary to go to your diary for certain——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I trust my memory a lot more than I do his reading of that document, of course, and also this diary. I trust that a lot more, naturally. I don't know——

Mr. JACKSON. How long, may I ask, have you been in possession of the affidavit of the Edmistons?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It came to me just as I was leaving. It came to me from a Methodist preacher, who got it, thought it was a lot of nonsense, and sent it along to me; and I just wanted to lay my hand on it because I thought I noted a discrepancy between the document I got from him and this, but I would have liked to have had it before he carried that out.

Mr. JACKSON. But did you receive a copy of the affidavit prior to your departure from California?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that's right. That's right. It's been very short notice to go into all of this material, though.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I——

Mr. VELDE. The Chair now recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Just let me make this suggestion——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I understood our counsel to say a few minutes ago he had given the witness a copy of this affidavit 10 minutes before. I so understood our legal counsel to state that, and that is what I want to know—whether or not the affidavit that counsel referred to as having been given the witness 10 minutes before——

Reverend McMICHAEL. It was not given to me 10 minutes before.

Mr. DOYLE. Is this affidavit or——

Reverend McMICHAEL. It was——

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, let me make this completely clear, since there seems to be some misunderstanding. When the witness stated he was looking for his own copy at the beginning of the reading of this document, I said I had an extra copy here which I would gladly pass over to him. I passed same over to him, and that is my sum and total knowledge——

Reverend McMICHAEL. It wasn't 10 minutes before.

Mr. KUNZIG. It was 10 minutes before the comment that was made by Mr. Moulder as to whether or not he had a copy. He said he had his own copy. He has had a copy here ever since practically right after I started reading it——

Reverend McMICHAEL. The whole point of it is——

Mr. KUNZIG. And I wish the record to state that clearly, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, now, may I follow that question with one more question——

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Which I believe is foundational?

May I ask the witness this question——

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. When did you make these notes in this diary which you are now referring to?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In 1940.

Mr. DOYLE. In your own handwriting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. On the same date to which you refer?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. In your diary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that's right.

Mr. DOYLE. Is that a diary kept in your course of——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. DOYLE. Your occupation——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want——

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to answer that accurately.

Mr. DOYLE. Please let me——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to answer the previous question honestly, and I want to correct what I said. I said on the same date. No; not always on the same date. Sometimes in advance. You see, if I had an engagement, I would put it down in advance when I knew about it. Ministers always do that. If you have this kind of diary, you write a date in advance. So, it wasn't always the date—sometimes I wrote that date down ahead of the time.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, is that a diary you kept throughout the year of 1940 in your own handwriting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that's right.

Mr. DOYLE. To keep a record of your appointments; to keep a record of what places you attended?

Reverend McMICHAEL. And what I intended to attend in advance, you see, so I would be there, if possible. If I had the appointment, I would keep it.

Mr. DOYLE. During the year 1940, did you rely on this diary for those purposes?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that's right.

Mr. DOYLE. I asked those questions, Mr. Chairman, because I believe they are foundational to identify the reliability of the diary, to whatever extent it is reliable.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I—

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman—

Reverend McMICHAEL. As to the reliability of my diary, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I might say that I consider it far more reliable—

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may we have regular order?

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. It seems to me we have trouble staying in the channel with this witness on questions being propounded to him.

Now, Counsel asked a question a moment ago, Mr. McMichael, concerning your attendance at a meeting of the Ohio Youth Congress at the Southern Hotel. The response to that question impressed me as being somewhat evasive, in that you say you have no recollection of the diary revealing this or that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I think the—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Mr. MOULDER. Just a minute, until I ask you this question, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Surely.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you ever attend a meeting of the Ohio Youth Congress in the Southern Hotel at any time, whether or not it was in May or June 1940, or the year before, or the year after that, or at any time?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, since the questioner also made a statement about the evasiveness of my previous answer, I request—

Mr. MOULDER. You are being evasive now.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I request—

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I believe we have a verbatim record of my answer.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wish it be read so we can decide whether that is evasive or not.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I didn't think the questioner was supposed to make accusations.

Mr. VELDE. Now, just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He made an accusation about the evasiveness of my answer. I think that is a matter of record.

Mr. VELDE. Will you please answer the question of the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Moulder—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I—

Mr. VELDE. To the best of your recollection?

If you don't know, say so.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no recollection of the meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask—

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes—

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I would like to suggest—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). The gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Clardy.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to suggest—

Mr. CLARDY. Will you please subside and remain quiet until I have finished the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that's all right.

Mr. CLARDY. Please do not interrupt by ejaculations of any kind while I am asking the question, and I shall be courteous, too.

Now, with that understanding, you said you had no recollection, as I understand it. Will you now deny that you attended such a meeting?

Now, please answer that question or not, and follow it by any explanation you care to give.

Does it take that long?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Thirteen years ago, brother—whatever your name is—that's quite a long while. I don't know how your memory is, but it takes that long for me.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, if I attended a Communist meeting, I would remember it.

Now, can you answer the—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Communist meeting.

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). Question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is the Ohio Youth Congress he is talking about, not a Communist meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. You heard it described. Now, answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What is the question about—this Ohio Youth Congress or a Communist meeting?

They're different things altogether.

Now—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. Do you care to have the question repeated?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I would appreciate it.

Mr. VELDE. Will you read the question, Mr. Reporter?

(The reporter read the question as follows:)

Will you now deny that you attended such a meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I ought to explain to you, so you'd understand what's going on, that I'm consulting—

Mr. VELDE. I understand what is going on very well.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm consulting the 19—

Mr. VELDE. This has been—

Reverend McMICHAEL. This is my 1939 diary. I want to consult that—I want to be fair to these men—to see if I have any record of it in 1939.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Witness, may I say, in helping you answer, I do not ask anything that requires any reference to anything except your own mind. I have asked you pointblank: Do you now deny ever attending such a meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you want to know——

Mr. CLARDY. No comment, please. Just answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; you said I would have an opportunity for an explanation.

Mr. CLARDY. After you have answered the question.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly, after you have answered the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, I see.

Mr. VELDE. That has been the procedure.

Mr. CLARDY. I hope you do see.

Mr. SCHERER. He sees.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course, I see.

I have no recollection of this meeting.

I'm eager to find out whether I attended it, and I would like to have a few moments to see whether or not there's any record in the other 2 years concerned, because I have these two diaries, and if I have attended it, I certainly will say so and tell you when.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Witness, may I bring you back to the question. You have evaded it completely by saying you have no recollection. My question is: Do you deny not whether you have recollection, but do you deny attending such a meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I can't answer that question without having some investigation on my own part as to what happened in those other 2 years. I have to—I have to answer your question accurately. If you're trying to trick me or trap me, why, then that's a different proposition altogether, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. The committee is not trying to entrap you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It sounds that way. If I find now in 1939 I attended the meeting—I don't want to deny anything that's true.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to give a truthful answer.

Mr. VELDE. I would like to make a statement.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right, Mr. Chairman. I'm sorry.

Mr. VELDE. This committee——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't think he is fair. That is all.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Is interested in subversive activities.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He is completely unfair.

Mr. VELDE. As I suggested in my opening statement——

Reverend McMICHAEL. You want information?

Mr. VELDE. That is right.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am trying to help you on that.

Mr. VELDE. And I resent the accusation——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not speaking about you at all.

Mr. VELDE. That the committee is trying to entrap you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. VELDE. In any way.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not speaking about you. You haven't tried to entrap me.

Mr. VELDE. As you realize, this is not a court of law.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. VELDE. We are only asking for information.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is not a court of law.

Mr. VELDE. And we are asking you to tell the truth.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right. That's what I'm doing.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, can the witness be required to cease the asides?

It is almost impossible to get a question in, Mr. Chairman; and if he is going through the diary, may I ask it be confined to May and June of the years in question. It isn't necessary to start at January and go through to December.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Then I'll have to confine my answer to May and June.

Mr. JACKSON. That is all you are being asked to do.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He said any time, any history. That is a different proposition altogether.

Mr. VELDE. Well, can you answer the question if you are allowed an opportunity to consult your diary for 5 minutes?

Reverend McMICHAEL. For 2 years in 5 minutes, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. No, no.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I'll do the best I can.

Mr. VELDE. On just the question the gentleman from California mentioned—May and June of 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Then he better change his question to May and June, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. May I refresh the recollection? I have asked a very simple question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I heard it.

Mr. CLARDY. It is very short, and I shall repeat it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I heard it.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you please remain quiet?

I would like very much to ask you to give me your undivided attention and take it away from the books.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, the question is this: Do you now deny having attended such a meeting at any time?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought we understood that I was——

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Witness, I asked you and cautioned you to please refrain from asides.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This isn't an aside.

Mr. CLARDY. It certainly is.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This is a very relative point, Mr. Chairman. It is not an aside.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is no aside at all.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, will you direct the witness——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have been asked to confine my consultation of the diary to 2 months, and there are 2 years involved. Then you say anytime in history. You're just going back to the same point.

I want to be honest. I'm a preacher. I want to tell the truth—whatever is true.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I want.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want you to give me a chance, then.

Mr. CLARDY. You have done your best to——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am trying to——

Mr. CLARDY. Evade the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have done my best to answer as honestly as I can. I want to tell you if I find I attended a meeting.

Mr. MOULDER. Will the gentleman from Michigan yield for just a minute?

Mr. CLARDY. I will be very happy to. I have had to yield to the witness.

Mr. MOULDER. Of course, the witness is entitled to refer to notes to refresh his memory. However, Mr. Chairman, may I move a recess in 10 minutes, and, Rev. McMichael, would you have any objection to the committee having an opportunity to examine your diary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I would.

Mr. VELDE. Well, in that case, I believe the suggestion of the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Moulder, is very much in order, and the Chair will grant a recess at this time for 10 minutes——

Mr. MOULDER. To allow——

Mr. VELDE. In order to allow you to examine your diary.

Mr. MOULDER. To allow us to examine his diary?

Mr. VELDE. No; to allow him. He refused——

Reverend McMICHAEL. You are trying to get an answer from me, not from you, aren't you?

Mr. MOULDER. I understood you——

Mr. VELDE. No.

We will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:20 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 11:30 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 11:34 a. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde, Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder, Clyde Doyle, and James B. Frazier, Jr.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. When we recessed, Reverend McMichael, we were discussing your diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. At this time I would like to introduce in the record the subpoena which was served upon you to appear before this committee, which will be McMichael exhibit No. 1-B

(The subpoena was marked for identification as "Michael Exhibit No. 1-B.")

Mr. VELDE. And the subpoena which was served upon you to produce documents, correspondence, papers, and records in your possession relating to your association, past or present, with the Methodist Federation for Social Action or the Methodist Federation for Social Service will be marked as "McMichael Exhibit 1-C."

(Subpoena duces tecum was marked for identification as "McMichael Exhibit No. 1-C.")

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, these documents will be introduced in evidence as McMichael exhibits 1-B and 1-C.

(McMichael exhibits No. 1-B and No. 1-C were received in evidence.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 1-B

(Part 1)

ORIGINAL

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICATo William A. Wheeler

You are hereby commanded to summon _____

Rev. Jack R. McMichael, Upper Lake, Californiato be and appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities or a duly
authorized subcommittee thereof
~~Congress~~ of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Hon. _____Harold H. Velde is chairman, _____in their chamber in the city of Washington, on July 30, 1953_____, at the hour of 10:00 a.m.then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said Committee; and he is
not to depart without leave of said Committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives

of the United States, at the city of Washington, this

23rd day of July, 1953Harold H. Velde

Chairman.

Attest:

Spencer
Clerk.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 1-B

(Part 2)

ORIGINAL

Subpena for Within Named

before the Committee on the Un-American
Activities; July 30th 1953
10:00 AM

Served July 24th 1953
Upper Lake, Calif.

William A. Wheeler
Investigator House of Representatives.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 1-C

(Part 1)

ORIGINAL

BY AUTHORITY OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CONGRESS OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

To William A. Wheeler

You are hereby commanded to summon Rev. Jack R. McMichael,

Upper Lake, California

to be and appear before the Committee on Un-American Activities or a duly
authorized subcommittee thereof

~~Committee~~ of the House of Representatives of the United States, of which the Hon. _____

Harold H. Velde is chairman, _____

and produce forthwith all papers, documents, correspondence,
and records in your possession relating to your association,
past or present, with the Methodist Federation of Social Action
or the Methodist Federation for Social Service.

in their chamber in the city of Washington, ~~at~~ forthwith

_____ at the hour of _____

then and there to testify touching matters of inquiry committed to said Committee; and he is
not to depart without leave of said Committee.

Herein fail not, and make return of this summons.

Witness my hand and the seal of the House of Representatives

of the United States, at the city of Washington, this

23rd day of July, 1953

Harold H. Velde
Chairman.

Attest:

[Signature]
Clerk.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 1-C

(Part 2)

ORIGINAL

Subpena for *Jack Richard*
McMichael

before the Committee on the *Un-American*
Activities + produce
within named documents
forthwith.

Served *July 24th 1953,*
Upper Lake, Calif.

William A. Wheeler
Investigator House of Representatives.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would like to ask you whether you were served with those two subpoenas.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. It was dated July 23 from Washington. I guess it was delivered, of course, later than that, the next day, the 24th.

Mr. VELDE. Is there anything in your diary pertaining to the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, my association with the Methodist Federation for Social Action did not begin until after the years covered by the question before. I was looking in my diary for 3 years, 1939, 1940, and 1941. There wouldn't be any bearing on that. I wasn't looking for it.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question? Is there anything in your diary pertaining to the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No, no.

Mr. VELDE. Are you certain about that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, how could there be if I was not associated with the federation until 1944 or 1945? How could these diaries have any—no; they wouldn't appear.

Mr. VELDE. You do not have any diary after you became associated with the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, yes; oh, yes, of course. I keep a diary.

Mr. VELDE. Where is the diary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I will look and see what I have. I have here 1951 and 1946. I have not been looking through these other ones, you see.

Mr. VELDE. Well, can you state whether or not there is anything in your diary pertaining to the Methodist Federation for Social Action—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would assume there would be something in there referring to some meeting or something of that kind connected with the federation, naturally, if it were here for those years. I don't understand—

Mr. VELDE. Under the circumstances, are you willing to produce and submit to the committee your diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This entry relates to the federation. I will be glad to do that, surely.

Mr. VELDE. Will you submit that at the present time?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will be glad to do that if you want me to take the time to do that.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I don't think—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not going to give you the whole diary but I will give you the entry pertaining to the federation.

Mr. VELDE. I will take your word that you will submit the entry relating to the federation.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will be glad to prepare that.

Mr. SCHERER. I don't want anything he prepares. I want the diary.

Mr. CLARDY. What you are referring to are the original documents and nothing you prepared.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will photostat the excerpts.

Mr. CLARDY. We are talking about the document itself.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I understand what you are talking about.

Mr. VELDE. And you will submit that document?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not willing to turn my diary over to you. I don't think it is germane.

Mr. VELDE. You are willing to turn any excerpts in your diary—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course, I stated that I will do that if it shows any relation to the federation. If you think there will be any value in that, I will do it. I did comply with your request and bring documents showing any relation to the federation.

Mr. CLARDY. Just one further suggestion. I ask that you instruct the witness to keep in his custody until the conclusion of this hearing the diary from which he was either reading or refreshing his recollection in answer to the previous questions, because before the hearing is concluded I ask that the witness surrender that up to the committee for purposes of cross-examination, as we are entitled to under the laws of the land.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, this question I have would not take but about 3 seconds for you to refer to your diary which you had in your hand a while ago with reference to where you were in 1940. Does your diary show where you were in those months of that year?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and I will be glad to tell you that. Is that your question?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. So that there will be no misunderstanding, I was merely asking that the witness be instructed to retain it because I shall make a request for their production before we are through the hearing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have every intention of retaining them.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to make sure that they are available for the members or counsel for such purposes as they may wish to make of them in further examination.

Mr. VELDE. That request will be presented at the proper time, Mr. Clardy?

Mr. CLARDY. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. May I inquire if I understand the request of my distinguished colleague, Mr. Clardy, for the presentation of the full diary and full contents? I respectfully submit I don't think we should ask that. I think we have a right to have our attentions specifically called to any items, but not his whole confidential diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Amen.

Mr. DOYLE. I do not think it is a proper function of this committee to go into a confidential diary of a witness on other things than matters which are pertinent before this committee.

Mr. CLARDY. You did not understand my request.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I am making the request is that I do not want to inspect all the entries of this witness, and I would like to see them subject to his counsel's approval, always, I would like to see that part of the diary which refers specifically to the subject matters under discussion, and nothing else.

Mr. CLARDY. That is what I had in mind.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure that the gentleman from Michigan had in mind the material that was subpoenaed under the subpoena duces tecum which was issued, and the witness has acknowledged he has received.

Mr. DOYLE. If it is limited to the express purpose, I think it would be proper, but not otherwise.

Mr. MOULDER. I have a question pending, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Yes, the gentleman from Missouri does have a question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to say that I don't know how—I would like to say that I did—I think I did state that I would do that. For May and June of 1940, was that what your request was?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes, that is right.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May and June of 1940.

Mr. MOULDER. Yes.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Counsel advises me that I do not have to tell you everywhere I was and at every particular time, but I am here to answer questions. I would like to go ahead and do it despite his suggestion that I was not required to do it, because I think you are being fair about it. If you do not object too strenuously, Mr. Donner, I would like to comply with the request.

Mr. DONNER. Now——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was at Union Theological Seminary as a student in May of 1940, and that is located in New York City and I see the items in the diary bear that out that I was in New York City in May. I am going to see if I have any evidence here of being anywhere else besides New York State.

The evidence I have shows that I was at the National Conference of Social Workers in Grand Rapids, Mich., in the latter days of May. I was requested to make a speech, which is of record in New York City, then I think I indicated already that I went to Arkansas to work with the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in June and they would have some record of that, what those dates were in June of 1940 because I was under assignment and they knew where I was and knew what I was doing in Arkansas, doing Bible study and other recreational work with sharecropper children and other work under their supervision.

Mr. MOULDER. Are those all the entries you have in your diary covering those 2 months?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, now we come back to the question that was pending when we recessed. Now I will confine the question at the moment to May and June of 1940. Are you now, by the answer you just gave, intending to tell us that you deny attending the meeting in question during those months of that year?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, there was a question pending and we recessed for me to get the answer to it. I would like for the secretary to read that question. I have been thinking about that question.

Mr. CLARDY. We will come to that.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is the same question, and I am going to read it. It is the same question: "Do you now deny having attended such a meeting at any time?"

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is a different question. That is why I wanted it read that way.

Mr. Chairman, my answer to that, and you did promise me an explanation——

Mr. VELDE. I promised you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. You want to be fair with me and I would like to assume that.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to ask that the witness answer the question and not give these little asides and speeches which he is doing purposely and obviously to confuse the record and the committee and to avoid answering.

Mr. CLARDY. Try to reply to us.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, an accusation was made and I wonder if I could reply to it. Do I have the right to reply on a matter of personal privilege to an accusation?

Mr. VELDE. Please, there is a question of you pending before us.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What about the accusation made against me?

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no voice in reference to unfair accusations.

Mr. CLARDY. It is my question. Will you please answer it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. And I want to give that explanation. You promised that. I have no recollection at any time of attending the meeting referred to.

Mr. CLARDY. You have not answered it at all. The question was very carefully phrased before the reply to exclude that——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have answered the question.

Mr. CLARDY. To exclude that evasive tactic. I am coming back to the answer that you gave a few minutes ago that you deny that you attended such a meeting during the month of May or June of 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I deny that I have any——

Mr. CLARDY. May I enjoin you to remain silent until the questions are finished.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought it was finished.

Mr. CLARDY. You are not occupying a public rostrum. You are here as a witness.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I recognize that. I thought you wanted to be fair.

Mr. CLARDY. It is difficult to be fair when you conduct yourself as you are. Did I correctly interpret your previous answer that you deny attending such a meeting during the months of May or June of 1940?

Reverend McMICHAEL. You can infer what you like. It means what it says; that I deny a memory of it.

Mr. CLARDY. You do deny that you may have attended the meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I deny any memory of it.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I want my right to explain. You promised me my right of explanation.

Mr. VELDE. There is nothing to explain.

Reverend McMICHAEL. There is plenty to explain.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, this committee has other work on the floor that it could be doing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, you promised me when I answered the question I would have a chance to explain. The record will show you promised me an opportunity to explain.

Mr. JACKSON. You cannot explain a failure of your memory.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I can explain that. Anybody can explain that. You can decide whether it is an explanation. Let you decide whether it is an explanation after I give it.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, you may proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to explain.

Mr. VELDE. How long will it take you?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It will take me considerably less than 5 minutes, probably less than 2 or 3.

Mr. SCHERER. I think the committee has got to recognize—

Mr. VELDE. Just a moment, please. You may have 2 minutes to explain your answer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. My desire is that we get the truth on this question. I have no memory of it. I wouldn't go beyond my memory where there is no evidence in the diary because I do not want to make a statement about something different from my memory. I am perfectly willing to try to make some research if you are interested in it and put it in the record and I do not want a perjury suit on my hands on such a technical matter as this. My memory and my diaries may give me some evidence and on the basis of that I have no recollection of it. I have nothing to hide. If I was there—and my life has been an open book. I am a minister. I preach in the pulpit. It is a matter of record what I am saying. If it was true that I was at that meeting I want to get the evidence for it. I do not want to be tricked, and I have an idea this kind of a question is a trick question. I don't think anybody ought to make a statement if he is interested in the truth that closes the door to any truth.

There must be some record of these meetings. Do these Edmistons have any record? Let them show that there was a meeting in May and June of 1940.

Mr. VELDE. I think that is sufficient explanation. I am sure that the further questions of counsel will tend to develop your memory concerning a lot of the other groups that you may or may not have been associated with.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will be glad to have my memory helped.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you know the Edmistons to whom we have been referring here this morning?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recall those names at all. I might—are they here in the room?

Mr. KUNZIG. They are not here in the room.

Mr. CLARDY. I suggest he be instructed not to ask questions but to answer them.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is, Do you know the Edmistons? I take it your answer is that you do not recall.

Reverend McMICHAEL. My answer is that by name I don't know them except this past week I got a copy of this from a preacher in Pennsylvania. I would be happy if you would produce these witnesses.

Mr. JACKSON. May we have the regular order without these harangues which are obviously intended to delay the hearing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is not the purpose.

Mr. VELDE. Let the Chair assure all the members of the committee that I am willing and I hope, with the permission of the members, to sit here today and tomorrow and the rest of the week until all of the information has been developed.

Mr. CLARDY. I will go beyond it, beyond the end of the week if necessary, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I state for the record so that the procedure is clear that we are on Document No. 2, and that there are some 80 or 90 documents involving this witness.

Do you know a Martha N. Edmiston?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have answered the question. You are wasting time.

Mr. KUNZIG. I respectfully request that the witness answer the question and be directed to answer whether he knows Martha N. Edmiston.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is directed to answer that question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have answered, Mr. Chairman. The answer is in. Shall I answer it, sir?

Mr. VELDE. Very simply, but do not go into all phases of your acquaintanceship with her.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to do that. I do not have any recollection on the basis of these names.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question has not been specifically. Do you know a Martha N. Edmiston?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The names I do not know.

Mr. KUNZIG. We are speaking about one person, not plural.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You are talking about one name, not a person?

Mr. KUNZIG. One name.

Reverend McMICHAEL. There is a difference between a name and the body. Produce the body.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I respectfully request, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be required to answer the question of whether he knows a Martha N. Edmiston. I think his evasive tactics are obvious.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I shall trust to the intelligence of the committee members to know whether it is evasive or not. I want to give a truthful answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. Then give it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I used to sell boiled peanuts as a little boy. I can speak as loudly as you can.

Mr. KUNZIG. Speak clearly.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is not an eye for an eye. I will be glad to shout back at you.

Mr. JACKSON. It is quite obvious that the answer of the witness is going to have to stand on this point unless we do go on until the middle of next month.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course it will stand.

Mr. JACKSON. There are far more important matters here which will not require any great amount of refreshment of memory, and I suggest we move along as rapidly as possible to the important points in issue.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair certainly concurs in that. Will counsel proceed?

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend the Emergency Peace Mobilization⁶ in Chicago in August of 1940? That is what I have read before from this affidavit of the Edmistons.

Mr. CLARDY. While he is looking, is that the one at which some 23,000 people were present?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; 23,000 delegates.

Mr. CLARDY. It was not a small, secret affair.

Mr. KUNZIG. No. It was a rather large, I would say, meeting.

Mr. VELDE. May I admonish the physical audience present that we cannot tolerate demonstrations before this committee, of approval or disapproval in any way. The committee will be in order and the witness will answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Out of my interest in the peace, which the gospel of Jesus Christ requires us to serve, I did attend that meeting. The exact dates I do not recall, I am sure, of the one you are referring to in Chicago.

Mr. KUNZIG. When the Edmistons put you at that meeting in Chicago they are correct, but when they speak of the earlier meetings in Columbus, Ohio, you have no recollection; is that correct?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right, I have no recollection of the earlier meeting in Ohio then or at any other time.

Mr. JACKSON. Is the date of the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago August 31, 1940?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; it so states.

Mr. JACKSON. I wonder if the witness would be good enough to refer to his diary and see what is reflected on that day.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I am sure that is the day. I got married just about that time and I was on my way.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you let us see the diary for those dates?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact, Reverend McMichael—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have affirmed presence at the meeting.

Mr. VELDE. I believe that we should not ask him to submit a diary relative to his wedding and honeymoon.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Amen. Those are most personal matters, it seems to me.

Mr. KUNZIG. Still going from the affidavit of Martha N. Edmiston and John J. Edmiston—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I haven't yet found any question.

Mr. KUNZIG. I respectfully request he not talk through questions.

Mr. VELDE. The witness is instructed that he is interrupting counsel's questioning and will you please wait?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I haven't found the copy.

Mr. KUNZIG. This is the second time I have given you one.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, that is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you, on July 4, 1941, attend a national conference of the American Youth Congress in Town Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.,

⁶ Emergency Peace Mobilization:

1. "The American Peace Mobilization * * * was formally founded at a meeting in Chicago at the end of August 1940, known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684).

2. Cited as a Communist front which came forth, after Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other American "war-mongering" efforts. It immediately preceded the American Peace Mobilization in 1940 (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 105, 156, and 169).

as stated by Martha N. Edmiston, and John N. Edmiston, undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In July of 1941, I clearly remember attending a meeting of the American Youth Congress in Philadelphia and I have some record about that, and in view of the charges they make, and I would request for the purpose of knowledge the opportunity to speak specifically to what happened in July of 1941 at the American Youth Congress in Philadelphia in relation to the charges made by the Edmistons. I would like to have that opportunity for the purpose of giving you needed information.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I clearly remember attending in July 1941 and presiding and chairing that meeting of the American Youth Congress, and I have asked for the opportunity of speaking to what happened there with reference to the charges made by the Edmistons which shows the inaccuracy of the Edmiston document. If you want information you will give me that privilege.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you speak at that meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was the chairman of it.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you speak? Sometimes chairmen do not speak.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course I spoke.

Mr. VELDE. How long will it take you to make this explanation?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It won't take but a few minutes.

Mr. VELDE. You can do it in 2 minutes.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is a very small time.

Mr. VELDE. It is apparent to the whole committee that you are attempting to delay the procedure of this matter.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will take the 2 minutes, but I would request more if you are interested in knowing whether the Edmiston document is accurate. I would like to give you evidence.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure that the other members of the committee feel they are being overly fair.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have some rights as a minister.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have evidence that shows that as chairman of the American Youth Congress in July 1941 in Philadelphia I led a fight for a resolution against an American Expeditionary Force, which resolution obviously was opposed by the young Communists present, and which resolution was adopted and was a part of the policy of the American Youth Congress.

This was after the invasion of the Soviet Union. I have evidence here which has been brought to my attention from the Young Communist League from their publication as to their unhappiness over the resolution and the fight which I led against their point of view in the 1941 meeting.

The Edmiston charge is that these meetings followed the Communist point of view and the truth of the matter is that I have been an independent person in my thinking. I think it is worth more than 2 minutes.

Mr. VELDE. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, it has been charged——

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question before you make your explanation.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not choose your questions and I do not want you to choose my answers. You are asking me questions and please let me answer in my way.

Mr. CLARDY. You are being asked.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This is an important question. Is the question: Am I a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Reverend McMICHAEL. My 6-year-old girl and my 8- and 10-year-old boys heard over the radio——

Mr. JACKSON. As has been said so often, the point of the question does not go to his children at all. It goes to the——

Reverend McMICHAEL. It goes to the children in this way, Mr. Chairman——

Mr. VELDE. If you will answer the question first.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I promise to answer the question.

Mr. VELDE. Answer the question first and then give your explanation.

Mr. JACKSON. The question is one which should, under the rules of procedure of the committee and under the standard procedure of the committee, be answered yes or no, at which time I am sure the Chair will give you every opportunity to elaborate upon the answer. However, I do request, Mr. Chairman, that the rules be followed to the extent that an answer be given to the question, following which the witness will be permitted to make any statement in connection with his answer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. In view of the importance of the question—we are fellow Methodists and we understand each other——

Mr. VELDE. I am not assuming that we understand each other.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I take that back. We are a long way from agreement with one another about a lot of things.

Mr. DOYLE. May I join with my committee member, Mr. Jackson, in the one premise he stated? May I add this, that that is a question that can be answered yes or no?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is correct. All right, the answer is "No." Here is my explanation. Despite the fact that the answer is "No," my little girl and my two boys heard over the radio that I was charged with being a Communist. This committee is completely responsible for having circulated a false charge across the country. It was calculated to disturb the people.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want the opportunity to elaborate.

Mr. JACKSON. An accusation has been made against the committee.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This is not an accusation.

Mr. JACKSON. No charges have been made against you by this committee or any member of the staff of the committee. Allegations which may have been made against you were made by witnesses under oath. This committee is simply exploring those allegations and seeking the information on them. When you say that this committee made a charge that you are a member of the Communist Party, it is absolutely false.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I agree. The committee circulated the charge, released it to the press, and to my little girl, and to my church members. I am not questioning your right to subpoena me, but I am questioning whether or why you did not subpoena me if you were

concerned about the charge to answer the question and then to decide whether or not you wanted to answer to the entire American people that this charge had been made against a Methodist minister in good standing with his church.

Mr. SCHERER. I am surprised that you are in good standing from your performance today.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I assure you I am in good standing with my congregation and the bishop and with the church. I think it is highly unfair to circulate a charge against a person before there is an opportunity for a person to be heard on the matter. I don't know whether that is your usual procedure. This is the first time a minister has been called, and mind you, it is a prelude. It is a preface.

Mr. JACKSON. Let us keep the record straight as we go along. It is quite obvious that Reverend McMichael is speaking out of a deep well of ignorance when he says this is the first time that a minister has been called. Let us have the record straight.

Mr. SCHERER. Didn't he testify before the Senate committee?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I did.

Mr. SCHERER. Then it isn't the first time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have testified before the subcommittee on this question and I was under oath and you wanted the answer and had the answer to my question available, there was a transcript and my lawyer in California telephoned Mr. Kunzig and said that I would take a lie-detector test and I would be at the Mayflower Hotel.

Mr. VELDE. No one has accused you of telling a lie. There is no request by anybody of this committee that there should be a lie-detector test. We are merely asking you to tell us the truth.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have told you the truth and you promised me I could elaborate. I proceed with my elaboration.

Mr. JACKSON. The elaboration is entirely extraneous and does not relate to the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It relates to the atmosphere in which I have come here.

Mr. VELDE. Let me ask you this question: Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Will you also give me a chance to elaborate on that?

Mr. VELDE. If you will answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I will be glad to answer the question. I have never been a member of the Communist Party. Now, may I elaborate? This is not new testimony and on this question, too, I was prepared to take the lie-detector test. My attorney spoke to Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the attorney who did not show up here.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is Mr. Dilley. I was prepared to answer the question with a lie-detector test. I have answered this question before the Senate subcommittee. Now, to proceed with my elaboration. It has been stated, and it may be true that we may be going back to the Inquisition—

Mr. CLARDY. I ask that the witness be requested to desist. Will you remain silent?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Under the first amendment to the Constitution it says "Congress shall make no law respecting—"

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman——

Reverend McMICHAEL. "And establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof——"

Mr. JACKSON. I move——

Reverend McMICHAEL. "Or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press——"

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to——

Reverend McMICHAEL. "Or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Mr. JACKSON. I move that the gratuitous statement just put on the record be stricken.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be stricken.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not think it is gratuitous to call attention to the Constitution you are sworn to uphold. I think it is a pretty important matter. I am a loyal supporter of this Constitution. Why would you want to exclude a reference to that?

Mr. VELDE. That in no way explains your answer whatsoever.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It gives an elaboration of it.

Mr. JACKSON. I again move that the extraneous matter be stricken from the record physically.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is the Constitution extraneous?

Mr. JACKSON. It was not extraneous and we are making every effort to defend it against people who joined in a conspiracy against the Government of the United States and to render aid to the Communist Party. You are being asked to give to this committee the benefit of your knowledge.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right. I am not engaged in any conspiracy. I have been trying to carry out the Gospel of Jesus.

Mr. MOULDER. In response to the question by the chairman, you denied affiliation with the Communist Party.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is true.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you opposed to the philosophy and the policy of the Communist Party as such?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not being an authority on it I would like for you to specify what you have in mind. I am not an authority on what they are. I do not read their publications. I am more of an authority on this Bible and I can tell you where I stand on that. If you want to ask me what policy I have in mind I can tell you my personal opinion.

Mr. VELDE. Do you care to go into that, Mr. Moulder?

Mr. MOULDER. No.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Reverend McMichael. I have read this affidavit by Martha N. Edmiston and John J. Edmiston. I don't know those people, but our counsel has identified them as former undercover Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, I think. Now whether you know them or not by name, you have read this affidavit, according to your own statement, and to me as I read it for the first time about an hour ago it seems that they are trying to identify you as during the period of years that they swear that they knew you as a member of the Communist Party, or Communist fronts. I want to ask you a fair question and I think it is fair. Will you state frankly whether or not you were a member at any time or now are of any of these alleged Communist fronts which the two Edmistons——

Reverend McMICHAEL. What page is that?

Mr. DOYLE. It is throughout the whole affidavit.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will have to look through it. I am not at all unwilling to answer your question. I want to see what organizations you are talking about.

Mr. DOYLE. Let me ask you the question this way; well, any of the organizations in this affidavit which you have read and had in your possession for several days.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I haven't been spending the last few days looking at that document, I assure you. It is not worthy of it.

Mr. DOYLE. Are any of these organizations identified by the Edmestons which it is claimed are Communist or Communist fronts—are any of those organizations which you were not a member of?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, yes, indeed.

Mr. DOYLE. Which ones were you not a member of?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have told you. The first is the Communist Party. After all they have identified themselves as members of the Communist Party and I have identified myself as not having been a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. DOYLE. Which organization in this affidavit is it that you say you were a member of? Are there any such?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right. First of all, however, I don't think they say anything about being a member of the Communist Party. They do not make the charge that I was a member. There was all this combination of—well, go ahead.

Mr. DOYLE. I have asked you a question and am trying to be helpful.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I appreciate it.

Mr. DOYLE. Go ahead and answer it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That refers to the Workers' Alliance of America. I was never a member of that organization, and of course they do not charge that I was as far as that goes.

They refer to the Communist Party. I was never a member of the Communist Party, and they do not charge that.

Mr. DOYLE. What others?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to be as full in this as possible to see what they are. They refer to the "YANKS," and that is spelled out "the YANKS are not coming."⁷ I was never a member of that.

They refer to the North Side Peace League. They do not charge that I was a member of that. I was not a member of that.

Then there is a reference to the Linden Peace League.

I was not a member of that.

Then there is a reference to the South Side Peace League, and I was not a member of that.

Then there is the reference to the Ohio Youth Congress, and I was not a member of that. I was not an Ohioan.

Then there is the reference to the Southern Ohio Youth Conference. I have never lived in Ohio. I was not in that. They do not charge that I was.

Mr. CLARDY. You skipped the American Youth Congress.

⁷ Yanks Are Not Coming Committee:

1. The Communist Party was "the principal agent" in "the Yanks Are Not Coming movement." This Communist Party slogan in the day of the Stalin-Hitler pact was formulated by Mike Quinn, Daily Worker columnist (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 17, 95, and 100).

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was chairman of that, but I was not a member of the American Youth Congress and I want to explain that. The organization was not a membership organization. It was a federation of youth organizations and I was a delegate to that as a representative of the National Student Young Men's Christian Association—

Mr. KUNZIG. You are not a member of the American Youth Congress? You were just chairman of it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. National chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, I have identified myself as chairman and having led the fight against the Communist viewpoint successfully.

Mr. VELDE. You make that distinction.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; it is a good distinction. It was not my decision to join it. I was sent there by the National Student Young Men's Christian Association. I want to proceed with Mr. Doyle's question.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask that counsel be given an opportunity to answer the question?

Mr. VELDE. He is answering Mr. Doyle's question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He refers to the American Student Union,⁸ the Young Communist League,⁹ and union groups. I was not a member of any of those three.

Then he refers to the party's county committee. I was not a member of that. Of course, he is not charging me with having been a member, but you wanted to know and I want to tell you that I was not. He repeats the Ohio Youth Congress, and I have stated that I was not a member of that.

He refers to the Communist Party headquarters of Columbus, Ohio, and I was not a member of that.

Mr. VELDE. Again, will you repeat that? You were not a member?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, I was not a member. Of course, I have said it already.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you get to those that you are charged with being a member of?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have answered his question. I am answering Mr. Doyle's second question. You can't change a question in the middle of it.

Then he refers to the Workers' Alliance of America, Hamilton chapter of Cincinnati, and I think I have covered that by saying that

⁸ American Student Union:

1. Cited as a Communist front which was "the result of a united front gathering of young Socialists and Communists" in 1937. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the above, and the union offered free trips to Russia. The above claims to have led as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1939, p. 80; report, January 3, 1940, p. 9; June 25, 1942, p. 16; and March 29, 1944, p. 159).

⁹ Young Communist League:

1. Cited as a "subversive," "Communist" organization which seeks "to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means" (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948).

2. Cited as "organized and maintained under strict Communist Party control" and as having "direct connections with Moscow in addition to indirect connections through the Communist Party" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, January 3, 1940, pp. 8 and 9).

3. "On October 15, 1943, a special convention of the Young Communist League was held at Manhattan Center at 34th St. and 8th Ave. in New York City. At this convention the Young Communist League officially transformed itself into the American Youth for Democracy" (congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 271, April 17, 1947, p. 2).

I was not a member of the Workers' Alliance and certainly not the Hamilton County chapter or any other chapter. He doesn't charge me with being a member of these.

He refers to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I have never been a member of that.

I think, therefore, Mr. Doyle, that I have not been a member of practically all that he talked about there, with the exception of 1 or 2.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is it not true that a great many of those organizations you have just read and denied membership in were part and parcel of the American Youth Congress?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I wanted to give as factual an answer on that as possible. It could be that Mr. Kunzig has some kind of a document that would show what were the affiliated youth groups in the American Youth Congress, more complete than I have been able to get, because I did not have anything like that in Upper Lake. That is not what I am preaching about. Some of it I do have. I have some material and I have been trying to go through it to see if I have anything like that. It would appear that as a general answer that some of the organizations were and some were not.

Mr. KUNZIG. His answer was that some were and some were not, and let us leave it at that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What was my answer?

Mr. KUNZIG. Some were and some were not was your answer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that is right.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to read the citations with respect to organizations of which this witness was alleged to be a member.

First of all, I will start off with the organization of which this witness was the national chairman, the American Youth Congress, as shown on page 27 of our Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications. The American Youth Congress was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released on December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

In one of the letters it states as follows:

It originated in 1934 and * * * has been controlled by Communists and manipulated by them to influence the thought of American youth.

It was also cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, at page 7685; and also cited in re Harry Bridges, May 28, 1942, page 10.

Then there was this statement:

One of the principal fronts of the Communist Party—
and—

prominently identified with the White House picket line * * * under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization.

That citation was in the Special Committee on Un-American Activities Report, June 25, 1942, page 16; also cited in reports of January 3, 1939, page 82; January 3, 1941, page 21; and March 29, 1944, page 102.

Then there was this statement:

Launched during August of 1934 and for about 7 years * * * one of the most influential front organizations ever established by the American Communist Party.

So said the California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1948, page 179.

The next citation is as follows:

The purpose of the Young Communist League in controlling and building this American Youth Congress is the same as in its other youth groups; namely, to build up a united front, to push the objectives of and produce cadres for the Communist Party among persons to whom they would be unable to make a direct approach.

So said the Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, page 525.

Then it was cited as subversive and un-American by the special subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations, report, April 21, 1943, page 3.

It was cited as a Communist front by the Pennsylvania Commonwealth counsel before the reviewing board of the Philadelphia County Board of Assistance, January 1942.

Those, Mr. Chairman, are the citations by the official bodies of governments of States and also of the United States as to the organization of which the witness was the national president.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask counsel to identify the book he was reading from.

Mr. KUNZIG. From the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications published on May 14, 1951.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want the right to answer that question.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to reply to that.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed. Counsel please proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He is reading your own charges that I was——

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The question I would like to answer—I would like to deal with these citations. He is talking about what he and people of his mind have been saying.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have said nothing about these organizations. These are representative groups of the United States Government which stated these things as well as statements by two different attorneys general.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I request that there be read into the record the annual report of the Dies committee which I understand is connected historically with this committee, of 1940, January 1940, concerning the American Youth Congress. The only report that that committee ever made after giving a hearing. I have evidence here and I have cited evidence to prove there was, and I have here—you said you would give me——

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That this organization was not dominated by the Communist Party.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending. So will you proceed, Mr. Kunzig?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have to answer to Almighty God and not to the Attorney General.

Mr. JACKSON. I move that all the witness' statements after the committee was called to order be stricken from the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. How can I give vital testimony if you are in the business of striking everything I say and only putting in what you say and what your counsel says?

Mr. VELDE. Let us proceed with regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you put in what Mr. Kunzig says, why don't you put in what the chairman says?

Mr. VELDE. The extraneous material will be stricken from the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, that was extraneous.

Mr. DOYLE. May I raise a point, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair does not recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I want the record to show, Mr. Chairman, that if this witness has referred to an official record of the Dies committee—

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. That is certainly material and is not extraneous.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And it cleared the American Youth Congress.

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman make objection?

Mr. DOYLE. I make objection.

Reverend McMICHAEL. They won't even put Dies committee material in the record.

Mr. JACKSON. Will the witness be required to be in order, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman make objection to the order of the Chair?

Mr. DOYLE. I think the ruling of the Chair ought not to apply to an official record of the Dies committee to which he called our attention. I think that that is pertinent.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no objection to letting the Dies record in.

Mr. CLARDY. That is part of the record of this committee, and we take judicial notice of everything in our file.

Mr. VELDE. The order of the Chair is that the voluntary testimony of the witness not in answer to a question be retained in the record. Proceed, Mr. Counsel, in regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Also put in that Dies committee document. I thought that was what you were asking for, the Dies committee record.

Mr. CLARDY. May I make a suggestion?

Mr. VELDE. The Chair does not recognize the witness. Will you proceed, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. I wish to state at this time categorically for the record that there are two identifications of this witness as a member of the Communist Party of America.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That has been broadcast to my little girl and all of the people I know.

Mr. KUNZIG. I wish to read into the record the sworn testimony of two witnesses appearing under oath before this committee.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And, as a Methodist minister, I am under oath, too.

Mr. VELDE. I don't care who you are, but you are a witness before a committee of the United States Congress, and we expect you to behave.

Mr. JACKSON. I think it should be shown that he is not called here as a Methodist minister, but because he has been twice identified as a member of the Communist Party.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Will you invite everybody who has ever been called a Communist here? It will cost a lot of tax money.

Mr. KUNZIG. Manning Johnson, in executive testimony before the committee in New York City on July 8, 1953, testified as follows, on pages 204 to 206:¹⁰

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Johnson, do you know of any other person who was an officer of the Methodist Federation at any time who was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; the Reverend Jack McMichael was a member of the Methodist Federation.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say Reverend McMichael?

Mr. JOHNSON. I understand that he did attend and graduate from divinity school.

Mr. SCHERER. What was his connection with the Methodist Federation?

Mr. JOHNSON. He was executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action up until 1953.

Mr. KUNZIG. I note you say "Methodist Federation for Social Action," whereas a moment ago you were referring to it as the "Federation for Social Service." Could you clarify that point and explain just what those two organizations were?

Mr. JOHNSON. They are one and the same organization. It is just a change of names. It was first called the Methodist Federation for Social Service, and later changed its name to the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Mr. SCHERER. How did you know that Reverend McMichael was a Communist?

Mr. JOHNSON. Well, during the period that I was member of the Communist Party, during the thirties, Jack McMichael was a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League, and he was also a member of the Communist Party, and from time to time he met with the now fugitive Communist, Gilbert Green, who was head of the Young Communist League at that time, and he attended occasionally meetings of the national committee of the Communist Party with Gilbert Green.

Mr. SCHERER. Was Reverend McMichael still a member of the Communist Party when you left the party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, he was.

Then Leonard Patterson, in executive testimony before the committee on July 7, 1953, in New York City, testified as follows, pages 78 to 80:¹¹

Mr. KUNZIG. When you were in the Young Communist League did you ever know one Jack McMichael?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. What position did he hold in the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. He was a member of the New York District of the Young Communist League and was a member of the top fraction of the Young Communist League and the Communist Party in the American League Against War and Facism. Also he was a member of the top fraction of the American Youth Congress that was organized around 1934.

Mr. KUNZIG. You knew him then as one of the leading members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I hand you a document marked "Patterson Exhibit No. 1" for identification. I am very carefully holding my hand over any names mentioned and in passing you this document marked "Exhibit No. 1" for identification I show you a picture and ask you if you recognize that person?

Mr. PATTERSON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Who is that?

Mr. PATTERSON. That is the McMichael as I recognized in the Young Communist League together with me from 1931 until I went out in 1935.

¹⁰ This testimony is printed in Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area—Part 7, pp. 2198—2199.

¹¹ This testimony is printed in Investigation of Communist Activities in the New York City Area—Part 6, pp. 2137—2139.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let the record show, Mr. Chairman, that the witness has identified a document which is a photostatic copy of an article from the New York World Telegram, September 15, 1951, headlined "Controversial Federation Retains Methodist in Name."

"Body Reelects Reverend McMichael," and then there is a picture under which appears the name of Reverend McMichael.

Mr. SCHERER. The record may so indicate.

Mr. KUNZIG. I also at this time, Mr. Chairman, would like to offer this document marked "Patterson Exhibit No. 1" for identification, into evidence as Patterson Exhibit No. 1.

Mr. SCHERER. It will be so received.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would suggest that that be made a part of the transcript so that I might get hold of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is obviously a part of the transcript since it was read into the record and it will be a part of the record which any person may get.

Mr. VELDE. Are the matters which Mr. Johnson and Mr. Patterson testified to true or false?

Reverend McMICHAEL. They are liars and perjurers and I think they ought to be so tried and charged.

Mr. SCHERER. I heard their testimony and from their actions on the witness stand and from your actions on the witness stand, I am inclined to believe them.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, then, you can act accordingly if you want to. They are not telling the truth.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you know either of the gentlemen who made the affidavits referred to by counsel?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, no. I would take a lie-detector test.

Mr. MOULDER. Are you acquainted with either of the gentlemen?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am acquainted with them by virtue of the fact that their names appear in the newspapers.

Mr. MOULDER. Should I assume from your answer that you have never met them before or never had any connections with them?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Those names didn't mean a thing to me when they came to me, which was a week ago.

Mr. KUNZIG. The names are Manning Johnson, one of the former members of the national committee of the Communist Party of the United States, and Leonard Patterson.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, well, there are a lot of those Communist Party persons that I don't know.

Mr. MOULDER. You say you are not acquainted with and never have been associated with Manning Johnson?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would appreciate your producing him. The name meant nothing to me. I have forgotten about people I have met. I would like to see him. He is my accuser. I am an American citizen. If I met him on the street, I wouldn't know who Manning Johnson is.

Mr. MOULDER. Going back again to your position as executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action, do you recall attending a meeting, as such an official or as a member of that organization, held at Wilberforce University?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that meeting was the national meeting and we have records of that in our social questions bulletin that was published.

Mr. MOULDER. Was Dr. John B. Thompson at that meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; he was one of the speakers.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you recall the Wilberforce meeting where you made the statement blaming America and condemning America as being the aggressor in Korea?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you say anything that implied that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I didn't say that. This man's mind—I don't know what it implied to him. Men can infer strange things.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you make any statement which would leave the impression that the United Nations was the invader in Korea?

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you want to know what I said, to the best of my memory I will be glad to say it.

Mr. MOULDER. You did not make any such statement?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Just a moment, please. I want to look up a document on that because I have got some records about it.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I move that we have a short recess.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in recess for a few minutes while the witness is looking up his record.

(Whereupon, at 12:37, the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 12:55 p. m.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order. The committee will proceed until 1:30 and take an hour's recess for lunch and reconvene at 2:30.

I think the last question was from the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Moulder.

Reverend McMICHAEL. As I understood it, Mr. Chairman, the question bears upon the stands that were taken by the Methodist Federation for Social Action and by me as its executive secretary, and statements with reference to the war in Korea and I have been looking through for the documents on that because I think you would want to know just what I have stated and just what the Methodist Federation for Social Action has stated about the war in Korea and of course we are very happy to make it if you will bear with me.

Mr. MOULDER. I am referring to the speech you made at Wilberforce University and my question is not directed at the stand taken by the organization, but I am referring to what you said.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I saw one of your committee members nodding his head. It would seem to me it would be of value for you to get this matter from the beginning to the end.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. This committee has been insulted by a lot better men than you and we welcome any criticism.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was not criticizing. I assumed you wanted information.

Mr. VELDE. Will you please answer the question.

Mr. MOULDER. You do recall that meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, definitely.

Mr. MOULDER. And you do recall in a general way what you stated in your speech at that meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and I have some record of it.

Mr. MOULDER. What subject did you speak on at this meeting, what subject did you speak on?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I spoke on the gospel of Jesus as it relates to the problems we face today as human beings and as followers of Jesus.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you speak on the conflict in Korea?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and I wanted to give you the evidence on that.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you make the statement or any statement implying the meaning that America was to blame for the aggression in Korea and that the United Nations was really the invader.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No I didn't.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you at that meeting advocate—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Do you know what I did say?

Mr. MOULDER. You denied that? You said you did not make it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wanted to tell you what I did say so far as the record shows.

Mr. MOULDER. Did you at this meeting advocate the admission of Red China, the government of the people of Red China, by the United Nations?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not only personally, but along with the Quakers and the Board of World Peace of the Methodist Church and England and Denmark and Norway and the Federation did advocate the recognition of any government in China and thought that it would contribute to the peace and prevention of further bloodshed.

Mr. MOULDER. At that meeting and in this speech did you speak against conscription in the defense rearmament program of this country?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In order to be as accurate as possible, I do not recall just that. I would like to answer the question in my own way by referring to a document. He has changed it, but I have documents on this.

Mr. VELDE. You say you don't recall.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No, I can recall, if you want to do that.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I would like to read the report. I will come back to that factually in terms of the documents. I want to be completely documented on that.

Mr. MOULDER. Was there a report prepared by several members of the Methodist Federation for Social Action urging that you be ousted as executive secretary for your known activities in Communist-front organizations? Was such a report prepared?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The fellow who prepared it voted for it.

Mr. MOULDER. Was such a report prepared?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It was thoroughly considered and rejected, and he did vote for it.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you also written articles of recent date concerning the Rosenberg espionage case in your Methodist Federation magazine?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will be glad to check that. There are so many questions. I will be glad to check that and answer it. Though again I don't know just what the answer is. I would like to give you the answer factually. It will take a little time, of course.

Mr. MOULDER. I will yield to counsel to pursue the line of questioning.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I answer the question?

Mr. MOULDER. You haven't answered it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No I haven't.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair will allow you 2 minutes to make any derogatory statements you may want to concerning this committee.

Mr. DOYLE. I am glad to see the chairman do that because records of what he has said at that time are the best evidence.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The October 1950 issue of the Social Questions Bulletin with reference to the kind of statement that the Edmitions apparently base their statements on, the federation took no position on Korea despite contrary press reports. In discussion on Korea members differed freely, as expected in truly democratic gatherings.

The secretary explained his view, and that is me. The secretary explained his view that Korea's future should be determined not by Korea's neighbors, the U. S. S. R. and China, not by the United States and its Allies, but rather by the Koreans themselves, peacefully if possible.

To help demonstrate peace in the world and the rights of the Korean people we can repeal the oriental exclusion laws which deny Koreans American citizenship.

Another step would be fair employment practices, legislation by which Korean Americans would be protected from discrimination. The secretary stated certain facts about Korea, the first being that despite North Korean and other reports the North Koreans had invaded South Korea.

That is the statement there. Now the meeting itself took this position, and I read it to you precisely:

To seek peace and pursue it is our biblical imperative, we desire all men to seek the moral concerns indicated by the Prince of Peace as a true basis for salvation of our Nation.

Old modes of thought, old trust in power—until we are faced with such chaos as the H-bomb and bacteriological warfare—the only power equal to our need is moral concern for all men. Ideas are not killed by violence. Our Christian mission is to build sound foundations for human relief, not through violence but through a living application of prophetic Christianity.

And then there was reference to the Russian propaganda campaign, saying that it can be dispelled by forthright disarmament through the United Nations' acting on the Tydings resolution. We urged consideration of a disarmament conference through the United Nations and to use our economic resources for underdeveloped areas as approved by Senator McMahon and others.

Mr. VELDE. I am sure that the members of this committee are opposed to the killing of time in this answer and the members of the committee should have an opportunity to ask questions and get your answers.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wanted to give the answers.

Mr. VELDE. We will stay here all day and tonight until we get—

Reverend McMICHAEL. And unless I have the opportunity of answering it factually, I cannot. Because we are proud of our position.

Mr. CLARDY. I want to make an observation that I think should be the basis of what we do from here on out.

I practiced law for pretty nearly 30 years. If this witness had appeared before any court in which I had practiced during all that time he would have been in jail.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought you said——

Mr. CLARDY. Be still.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not moving very far.

Mr. CLARDY. He would have been in jail for the contemptuous attitude he has displayed. I regret that this committee does not possess the power that it should have to punish instantly as a court does. Unfortunately, we do not have that. So that this may be conducted with some semblance of fairness and expedition, I would suggest at this time that the witness be told firmly and emphatically from here on out he has to refrain from injecting remarks, from interrupting counsel, that he be told that if he persists in that attitude that we will have no recourse but to consider his actions in contempt of Congress of the United States.

I ask that in all seriousness because I do not think in all the time I have been on this committee I have seen a witness so utterly contemptuous of the Congress of this Nation and I think that it is high time that he be instructed to follow the rules that you laid down at the beginning, Mr. Chairman.

Now, will the chairman bear with me and make that admonition?

Mr. VELDE. The Chair, as far as he is personally concerned, heartily concurs with the gentleman from Michigan and we do need to proceed in regular order and no further voluntary statements will be permitted. If you will answer the questions that are asked of you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was broken off before I completed the answer.

Mr. CLARDY. Now you have been enjoined. Now please remain quiet until you have been asked a question.

Mr. KUNZIG. The witness has just read from the Social Questions Bulletin of the Methodist Federation, and I have here a document marked "Exhibit 2-A" and which is also the Social Questions Bulletin of December 1952. In an article signed "J. R. M.," which I assume for the record is this witness, Jack R. McMichael, who was executive secretary of the federation, we perhaps get a more accurate viewpoint of Mr. McMichael's idea as to the Korean question where he says:

SHIFTING DEFINITIONS OF AGGRESSION

Since both governments in Korea ignore parallel 38 in their constitutions and claim all of Korea—is parallel 38 a boundary between two countries, or an arbitrary line within one? Did the conflict begin as Civil War, or aggression by one country against another?

We Americans have a similar problem. Did we have a Civil War or a War between two states, the Confederacy and the Union? When Northern armies crossed the Mason-Dixon Line and marched into the South, were they unifying one country, or committing aggression? The editor's grandfather, a Methodist Georgian, enlisted with the Confederate Army; was captured by Northern soldiers in South Carolina. He and other Confederates had little doubt who the aggressor was. But aggression to some Southerners was "liberation" to others, Negro slaves for whom Lincoln wrote an Emancipation Proclamation, counterparts perhaps of South Korean peasants today who conduct guerrilla warfare, have landlordism, and want land.

If it was aggression for the North Koreans to march across the 38th parallel in late June 1950—what was it when General MacArthur a few months later in 1950 led non-Koreans (mainly U. S.) and South Korean troops across the

same parallel? If U. S. Korean troops to save the South Korean Rhee government was good, how condemn as aggression the Chinese intervention later to save the North Korean Kim government?

That is a quotation from the Social Questions Bulletin of December 1952.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Why don't you complete the passage?

Mr. VELDE. I think we should proceed in the regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is all right. The context is not complete. I assure you I was going to read—

Mr. VELDE. Will the counsel ask questions relative to our duties and our jurisdiction, and proceed in regular order?

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like, in order to get the complete document in the record, which I am sure Reverend McMichael wants, to offer in evidence this document marked "Exhibit 2-A" from which I have just read.

Mr. CLARDY. The entire document?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, and I would like to state for the record also that it be absolutely correct that we are referring merely to actions in this hearing today of the Reverend McMichael and not the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be introduced in evidence at this point.

(Social Questions Bulletin, December 1952, article, Christmas Peace and Korean Issues, signed J. R. M., was marked for identification as "McMichael Exhibit No. 2-A" and received in evidence.)

JACK McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 2-A

(Social Questions Bulletin, December 1952, p. 39)

CHRISTMAS PEACE AND KOREAN ISSUES

[By Jack R. McMichael]

In the Christmas Story we read: "The dayspring from on high shall visit us * * * to guide our feet into peace." "Ye shall find the babe in a manger. Glory to God, and on earth peace, good will toward men." The Babe grew into manhood and declared: "Blessed are the peacemakers; they shall be called sons of God." The Prophet of old had declared: "They in the land of the shadow of death, upon them hath the light shined. Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood; but this shall be with burning and fuel of fire (i. e., be ended). For unto us a child is born, a son is given: and his name shall be called Prince of Peace."

Is not Korea today's "land of the shadow of death" with "garments rolled in blood?"

What about a cease-fire now?

In the current U. N. debate on Korea, Pakistan urged an immediate end on both sides to the slaughter, destruction, bloodletting. It was a moving, humanitarian appeal, appropriate in the pre-Christmas season, and based on the view that reason rather than violence should be employed to settle the sole point at issue in the stalled armistice negotiations (prisoner-of-war repatriation). The M. F. S. A. Executive Committee on September 2 called for an immediate cease-fire with negotiations to go on. Methodism's official Christian Advocate took that position editorially in its issue of October 23. M. F. S. A. Chapters and other churchmen have also asked an immediate cease-fire. But at the U. N. our U. S. delegation promptly and publicly rejected Pakistan's cease-fire appeal—insisting that the violence (against prisoners and nonprisoners alike) must go on until the prisoner-of-war issue is settled in the way we demand. So the war goes on, and casualties on both sides are very high in this pre-Christmas season. Why not read the Christmas story and write Secretary of State Acheson or President Truman or President-elect Eisenhower (Commodore

Hotel, N. Y. City) if you think the war in that "land of the shadow of death" should be ended and the dispute be negotiated and settled in peace?

United Nations Command negotiators at Panmunjom are high-ranking military officers from only one U. N. member-country—the U. S. A. They too have opposed any cessation of the fighting prior to completion of the armistice draft. Thus the U. S. position at Panmunjom and now at the U. N. is that military pressure and action is required to make the negotiations succeed.

But both the U. S. and the U. N. majority took exactly the opposite position in the U. N. Assembly's Korean debate in January 1951. This was after Chinese intervention and the route of MacArthur's forces near the Yalu river boundary. The U. S. and U. N. majority then asked the advancing Chinese and North Koreans to stop their advance and agree to an immediate cease fire as a prelude to peace negotiations and as a prerequisite to a rational nonviolent atmosphere in which negotiations would have a chance to succeed. U. S. delegates and their allies argued cogently and vigorously that honorable negotiations were impossible without a cease-fire, that honorable men could not negotiate under fire or duress. When the military situation improved for the U. S. its cease-fire stand was reversed. Was the stand, and its reversal morally or militarily based?

(For our similar reversal on the demarcation line issue, see the Nov. 1951 Bulletin. Our opponents made a big concession by accepting our insistence that we occupy captured territory north of the 38th Parallel even after an armistice.)

Shifting Definitions of Aggression

Since both governments in Korea ignore Parallel 38 in their Constitutions, and claim all of Korea—is Parallel 38 a boundary between two countries, or an arbitrary line within one? Did the conflict begin as civil war in one country, or aggression by one country against another?

We Americans have a similar problem. Did we have a Civil War or a War Between Two States, the Confederacy and the Union? When Northern armies crossed the Mason-Dixon Line and marched into the South, were they unifying one country, or committing aggression? The Editor's grandfather, a Methodist Georgian, enlisted with the Confederate Army; was captured by Northern soldiers in *South Carolina*. He and other Confederates had little doubt who the aggressor was. But "aggression" to some Southerners was "liberation" to others, Negro slaves for whom Lincoln wrote an Emancipation Proclamation, counterparts perhaps of South Korean peasants today who conduct guerrilla warfare, hate landlordism, and want land.

If it was aggression for the North Koreans to march across the 38th Parallel in late June 1950—what was it when Gen. MacArthur a few months later in 1950 led non-Korean (mainly U. S.) and South Korean troops across the same Parallel? If U. S. intervention to save the South Korean Rhee government was good, how condemn as "aggression" the Chinese intervention later to save the North Korean Kim government?

When we insisted that the U. N. label and condemn China as an aggressor, we lost India and our other major Asian allies whose definitions of "aggression" were not so shifting and who regarded such action as unnecessarily harmful to peaceful settlement.

All of which may throw some light on the current but hardly noticed dispute in the U. N.'s Legal Committee. The Soviet Union is urging that Committee to accept the task of agreeing on a legal definition of aggression. Governments allied with us deny the possibility or wisdom of any such definition!

What About Prisoners of War?

In the current U. N. debate all parties admit that the negotiators have agreed on all points but repatriation of war prisoners.

Our spokesmen insist on voluntary rather than universal repatriation. They claim moral and humanitarian reasons—concern for the welfare of the prisoners. As for strictly humanitarian concern for prisoners, has it been practiced in the camps where our troops admittedly have shot and slain unarmed captives? And is humanitarian concern, either for prisoners or nonprisoners, shown in our insistence that the murderous fighting go on until the prisoner issue is settled our way?

What about our present stand on prisoner repatriation? Has our stand on this issue been without shift? How many Americans have seen the text distributed at the U. N. of the Armistice Draft articles already agreed to at Panmun-

jom by our U. S. negotiators on behalf of the United Nations Command? Article III of the *agreed* draft is entitled "Arrangements Relating to Prisoners of War," and includes:

"51. All prisoners of war in the custody of each side at the time this armistice agreement becomes effective shall be released and repatriated as soon as possible. The release and repatriation of such prisoners of war shall be effected in conformity with lists of exchanged and checked by the respective sides.

"54. Repatriation of all the prisoners of war required by paragraph 51 shall be completed within a time limit of two months after this armistice agreement becomes effective. Within this time limit each side undertakes to complete the repatriation of all prisoners of war in its custody at the earliest practicable time." Note the first word of Article III and of Paragraph 51 is "*all*", a word *repeated* at the beginning of Paragraph 54. Note further that our negotiators, headed by Major General W. K. Harrison, Jr., U. S. Army, on behalf of Gen. Mark W. Clark, U. S. Army, Commander in Chief United Nations Command, helped draft and have agreed to those paragraphs.

The N. Y. Times of Nov. 20 has a letter on prisoner repatriation by Wm. R. Mathews, Editor and Publisher of The Arizona Daily Star of Tucson, who writes:

Americans "do not know they are condoning an official breach of a treaty that their representatives signed in Geneva in July 1949." "Article 118 of Section II (Geneva Convention of War Prisoners) provides: 'Prisoners of war shall be released and repatriated without delay after cessation of hostilities.' Nowhere in the treaty is provision made for any unilateral exception. The treaty was registered on Nov. 2, 1950, with the United Nations * * * Within 18 months after signing it we are demanding the unilateral right to revise one provision to suit ourselves. I cannot believe the American people would approve of this conduct on our part if they were aware of its implications * * * They do not know they are setting a precedent of official conduct that other nations, large and small, can in future use to justify equally flagrant breaches when they redound to their temporary advantage * * *

"Worst of all, we use the 'humanitarian' excuse to weaken the very foundation any humanitarian ideals must have to be effective—the rule of law. Without the rule of law humanitarian principles will depend upon the whim or caprice of a few top individuals * * *

"We would set a precedent * * * Our enemies could use it as a mask for slave labor camps, where our men would be retained under the pretext that they did not want to be returned. Thus humanitarian ideals will suffer rather than progress.

"To support the rule of law we went to war in Korea and now, after all the sacrifices, we try to delude ourselves and the world into thinking that for humanitarian reasons we can breach the rule of law."

Mr. Mathews also points out that, whereas we demand the right to screen and withhold 14,000 Chinese and 34,000 North Korean prisoners, we also "demand the return of all our men taken prisoner."

M. F. S. A. has no official stand on the prisoner of war issue, but it does contend that *there should be no more fighting or killing by or on either side* pending further discussion and final settlement on the disputed issue. Efforts to win this argument should be by reason and logic, not force and violence.

The World's First Hydrogen Bomb?

Is our growing reliance on force to settle disputes and issues (and our consequent neglect of reason or consistency) highlighted by the fact that we not only built and first used the atom bomb (against the civilian populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki), but have now also apparently first built and used (at Eniwetok) the even more heinous Hydrogen Bomb—which the conservative World Council of Churches once called a "sin against God?"

How better observe Christmas in 1952 than by prayerful reelection and responsible action on these issues of war or peace? Won't you tell us what you and your groups are doing for peace, how this Bulletin can be more useful to you, and how we can do a better peace job? Together this Christmas let us recall these New and Old Testament words: "Saith Jesus, 'They that take the sword shall perish with the sword.'" "Woe to them that go down to Egypt (to military alliances and pacts) for help; and trust in chariots, because they are many; and in horsemen, because they are strong; but look not unto the Holy One, neither seek the Lord."

A Happy Christmas and New Year to you, to your loved ones, and to all of God's loved ones of all nations! And may the sons of God who are peacemakers, win new victories in 1953 for the final abolition of war.

J. R. M.

Mr. JACKSON. May I refer to the Dies committee report to which the Reverend McMichael referred in his answers several minutes ago, in which the inference was given that the Dies committee had cleared the American Youth Congress of any taint of Communist Party activity or Communist Party domination. Mr. McMichael, my recollection is that you indicated that the Dies committee had cleared the American Youth Congress.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The Dies committee report in 1940, which followed the only hearings that we were given, could be read if you want to have it read. You must have it there before you, and then it will speak for itself.

Mr. JACKSON. I have all of the references here, Mr. Chairman, from the reports of the Committee on Un-American Activities from 1939 to 1944, and I ask unanimous consent, inasmuch as the request was made, that this be inserted and that I be permitted at this time to read into the record all of the references to the American Youth Congress in the hearings and the reports from 1939 to 1944.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection? Otherwise the request is permitted.

Mr. JACKSON. It is my understanding that it was your desire to have this request granted.

Reverend McMICHAEL. With reference to 1940.

Mr. VELDE. Permission is granted.

Mr. JACKSON. The Dies committee report as of January 3, 1939, has this to say with reference to the American Youth Congress:

The American Youth Congress was not originally set up by Communists, but it was penetrated by them, as shown by the reports of its first congress, which was held in Washington, D. C. In 1934, at its second convention, it was broken up and reorganized into a Red front. (See pp. 611 and 612, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

While there are many non-Communist organizations in the Youth Congress, there are over a dozen Communist, Communist-front, and Communist-sympathizing movements in it. (See p. 613, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

The Communists, realizing the value of such an excellent camouflage, immediately set about organizing similar congresses in other countries, and they called for a Paris international congress. (See p. 613, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Later a World Youth Congress came into being. This embraced the same organizations which were affiliated with the American Youth Congress. (See pp. 615 and 616, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Right-wing youth movements refused to attend the World Youth Congress, which was held at Vassar. The organizers in the United States were leaders of Communist, Communist-front, and Communist-sympathizing movements. (See pp. 615, 616, and 617, vol. 1, committee hearings.)

Then, in the January 3, 1941, issue of the Dies committee, Report No. 1, 77th Congress, 1st session, on page 21, it states as follows:

Other organizations which formed units in the People's Front movement have been greatly crippled in their effectiveness as a result of our exposures. The American Youth Congress once enjoyed a very considerable prestige and an impressive following among the youth of our country. Today many of the distinguished former sponsors refuse to be found in its company. Best of all, it has been deserted by American youth. We kept the spotlight of publicity focused upon the American Youth Congress, and today it is clear to all that, in spite of a degree of participation in its activities by many fine young people, it was never at its core anything less than a tool of Moscow.

Now, on page 16 of the report issued June 25, 1942, it has this to state with reference to the American Youth Congress:

The American Youth Congress was prominently identified with the White House picket line which, under the immediate auspices of the American Peace Mobilization, opposed every measure of national defense up until the very day that Hitler attacked Russia. From its very inception the American Youth Congress has been one of the principal fronts of the Communist Party.

Eight of the 50 leaders of the Union for Democratic Action have been affiliated with the American Youth Congress. They are Thomas R. Amlie, Leroy E. Bowman, J. B. S. Hardman, Gardner Jackson, Dorothy Kenyon, A. Philip Randolph, Frederick L. Redefer, and Maxwell Stewart.

Then, on page 102 of the February 17, 1944, report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives, 78th Congress, 2d session, it has this to say:

Together with such notorious fellow travelers as Harry F. Ward and Max Yergan, Joseph Curran was a speaker for the American Youth Congress, the Communist front which has now been largely absorbed by American Youth for Democracy, the new name under which the Young Communist League operates at present.

Those, Mr. Chairman, are all of the annotated references to the American Youth Congress contained in the hearings between 1939 and 1944.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this, Mr. Chairman? In view of the witness having currently referred to some report of the Dies committee, I am wondering if this list—and may I ask the gentleman from California—does this list include that reference? If it does not, I would certainly expect that the witness have the privilege of reading into the record if we haven't read it from Mr. Jackson's report.

Mr. VELDE. Does the witness desire to add anything more from the Dies report?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to see the 1940 report.

Mr. JACKSON. These are the reports of the committee prepared by the committee. Are you referring possibly to testimony?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am referring to a report. It would be in January 1940 and it must be there, and I would appreciate your handing it to me and telling me whether you read it.

Mr. JACKSON. This is a report of January 3, 1939.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I meant 1940.

Mr. JACKSON. A report of January 3, 1940?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would you read it to me, please, the 1941 report.

Mr. JACKSON. It is somewhat lengthy.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Just on the Youth Organization.

Mr. JACKSON. All right, I will be glad to repeat it. This is the January 3, 1941, report¹² and is contained at page 21, the very bottom paragraph and is as follows:

Other organizations which formed units in the People's Front movement have been greatly crippled in their effectiveness as the result of our exposures. The American Youth Congress once enjoyed a very considerable prestige and an impressive following among the youth of our country. Today many of its distinguished former sponsors refuse to be found in its company. Best of all, it has been deserted by American youth. We kept the spotlight of publicity focused upon the American Youth Congress, and today it is clear to all that, in

¹² Report No. 1, 77th Cong., 1st sess., January 3, 1941, being the report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1940.

spite of a degree of participation in its activities by many fine young people, it was never at its core anything less than a tool of Moscow.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Could I see the book? That is not the document I was referring to.

Mr. JACKSON. It is at the bottom of the page. I hand it to you now. It is a little different.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I see it marked for 1939 and 1941. I do not see one for 1940.

Mr. JACKSON. The one I read is for January 3, 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It says 1941.

Mr. JACKSON. Bring it up.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The annual report of January 1940.

Mr. VELDE. May we proceed while he is checking?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I can read a portion of it if you want me to, but I would rather have the original.

Mr. VELDE. The question is that the witness first offered some information from the Dies committee.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right.

Mr. VELDE. Do you care to insert anything in the record that has not been inserted?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. From the 1940 report of the Dies committee which is published in the New York Times, and you must have a file of that available, I read the following from the Dies committee report regarding American Youth Congress:

In the case of the American Youth Congress, the committee—that is the Dies committee—

finds an organization which has no membership of its own—

And that is a point that I made and someone raised a question as to whether it is important. The committee made that point itself.

Now to go on:

but which attempts to affiliate together the largest possible number of organizations of young people, the vast majority of whom have no connection with communism, nazism, or other movements of that sort, but are some of the most necessary and valuable organizations which our country possesses.

That, sir, is from the only report of the Dies committee which followed a hearing granted to the leaders of the organization.

Mr. VELDE. I personally am very happy that you read the statement because it shows exactly what the Communist Party has done to influence gullible people to go along with the Communist movement.

Mr. JACKSON. I am told that the report dated January 3, 1941, is the report of the activities of the committee for the year of 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is not what I am referring to.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you referring to the testimony, by any chance—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not testimony—

Mr. JACKSON. Of Mr. Hinckley.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am referring to the official report and I have read to you from the official report of the Dies committee itself.

Mr. JACKSON. We have it here.

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I am not talking about activities in 1940.

Mr. VELDE. This is a report of the activities in 1940 from which Mr. Jackson was reading.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, but I am not referring to activities in 1940. I am referring to the official report of the Dies committee that was printed in the New York Times in early 1940.

Mr. CLARDY. Then it isn't a report for 1940 at all, but for 1939. Those, of course, have to necessarily be published a few days after the end of a calendar year. Now, for 1939, if there was one published, it was in 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. There was one published. I have read it to you.

Mr. CLARDY. You may not have read it correctly. I suggest we proceed. I don't think the witness knows what he is talking about.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, there is a report on the investigation of the un-American propaganda activities in the United States, dated January 3, 1940.

The next report on the investigation of the un-American propaganda activities in the United States is dated January 3, 1941. These were obviously issued at the commencement of each session of a given Congress, summarizing the activities and the findings of the committee for the year previous.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And it was the January 1941 that I wanted to be sure was included in the record, along with this other one.

Mr. JACKSON. January 1941, the excerpt from that report is the one that I read.

Mr. CLARDY. Twice.

Mr. JACKSON. That is right, I read it twice.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would you show it to me?

Mr. JACKSON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I would suggest that in order to expedite time that our staff immediately investigate and see if such report is as quoted in the New York Times and read by this witness, see if it ever existed. If it does, I submit it is fair that that report be included.

Mr. VELDE. It has been read into the record.

Mr. DOYLE. The witness read it and we cannot find a copy to verify it.

Mr. CLARDY. We found a copy of each report. The witness is confused. He doesn't know what he is talking about. In the one we did find and read from it has been put in twice. The one for the year preceding that has no reference to the subject.

Mr. DOYLE. The gentleman purported to read from an official report.

Mr. CLARDY. Purported is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Let us find whether or not such report was ever issued.

Mr. VELDE. With all due respect, Mr. Doyle, that is a matter of investigative procedure.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I have found here what was not read before and I want to read it.

It is from page 9, and this is the document, and I think it was purely an inadvertence that he missed it. It is dated January 3, 1940,¹³ and it states:

In the case of the American Youth Congress—

And I am not quoting the New York Times—

the committee finds a central organization which has no membership of its own, but which attempts to affiliate together the largest possible number of

¹³ Report No. 1476, 76th Cong., 3d sess., January 3, 1940, being the report of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities for the year 1939.

organizations of American youth people, the vast majority of whom have no connection with communism, nazism, or any movement of that sort, but are members of some of the most necessary and valuable organizations which our country possesses.

Now, that is what I have read. I have found it. But before I did not read it from this document.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair wholeheartedly concurs in that report of the Dies committee which you have read.

Mr. CLARDY. You are the most obtuse witness we have had willingly.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think it is perfectly clear when we get together the entire report of the Dies committee that we will get what the committee thought of this organization, as well as the opinion of the Attorney General with respect to this organization.

Mr. JACKSON. It was an inadvertence and I made no effort to misrepresent the organization, and I believe the citations indicate quite clearly the fact.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I didn't indicate it was anything but inadvertence.

Mr. CLARDY. What Mr. McMichael read did not in any way contradict anything Mr. Jackson read.

Mr. VELDE. I wanted to give the witness a full opportunity to answer the questions and to give members an opportunity to ask questions. Proceed in regular order. Counsel has a lot of information he would like to develop and ask questions about.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I speak to the American Youth Congress in terms of information?

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to offer in evidence the document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 2" which was the sworn affidavit of Martha N. Edmiston and John J. Edmiston.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted in the record. (Affidavit of Martha N. and John J. Edmiston was received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 2.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 2

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF OHIO,
Hamilton County, ss:

Before me, the undersigned authority, this day personally appeared MARTHA N. EDMISTON and JOHN J. EDMISTON, to me well known and known to be the subscribers hereto, and being by me first duly sworn, deposed and said that they are residents of Wayne Township, Warren County, Ohio, and they further deposed and said as follows:

That during the years 1940 and 1941 they were members of the Communist Party of the U. S. A., having joined this conspiracy while working as undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. That they also were members of several Communist "transmission line" or "front" organizations, such as the Workers' Alliance of America, the Emergency Peace Mobilization, the American Peace Mobilization, the YANKS (The Yanks Are Not Coming), the North Side Peace League, the Linden Peace League, the South Side Peace League (the latter three being local front groups in Columbus, Ohio) and from time to time served as delegates and observers from these groups to meetings of the Ohio Youth Congress, the Southern Ohio Youth Conference, and the American Youth Congress, at the direction of Communist Party officials as a part of their regular Communist Party assignments.

That they first met the Reverend Jack R. McMichael in Columbus, Ohio, at a meeting of the Ohio Youth Congress in the Southern Hotel. To the best of their recollection this meeting was held in May or June of 1940. (The date of this

meeting can be established by reference to a report of it prepared by the deponents, now in the possession of the FBI.) At the time, the deponents were members of the Franklin County (Ohio) Chapter of the Workers' Alliance of America, an organization which was then under the complete domination of the Communist Party. At the Workers' Alliance meeting deponents were members of the Franklin County (Ohio) Chapter of the Workers' Alliance of America, an organization which was then under the complete domination of the Communist Party. At the Workers' Alliance meeting just prior to the opening of the Ohio Youth Congress, the Workers' Alliance selected delegates for the congress. These included the deponent, Martha Edmiston, Lula Mae Leigh, and others whose names the deponents do not recollect at this time.

To the best of these deponents' recollection, the sessions of the congress occupied 2 or 3 days and some 200 delegates and American Youth Congress officials were present. The deponents personally knew a number of the delegates from Columbus organizations, such as the Workers' Alliance, the American Student Union, the Young Communist League, and union groups. These delegates included the following Communist Party members: Jack Perloff, Ruth Williams Perloff, Lula Mae Leigh, Irwin Barkan, Virginia Dillon, Betty Erhart, Esther Rodgers, Donald Rodgers, Robert Evans, Regina Rosen, Manny Rosen, LeVerne Slagle, Bernard Rucker, Lillian Rothenburg, Herbert Seins, John Davis, Beatrice Dunn Davis, and Nelrene Grattan. These people included several officers of the Franklin County Section of the Communist Party. Nelrene Grattan was treasurer; Perloff was organizer for the Young Communist League; Ruth Perloff was a member of the party's county committee as was Bernard Rucker. Also visiting several sessions of the congress, but not known to us to be delegates were E. S. Grattan, Communist Party secretary, and Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party organizer in Franklin County.

That the Workers' Alliance delegates to the congress received their instructions from Jack Perloff, YCL organizer, and Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party organizer. All advance literature on the Ohio Youth Congress was distributed from the Franklin County headquarters of the Communist Party at Sixth Avenue and Summit Streets, Columbus.

The principal speakers and prime movers at the Ohio Youth Congress were the three top-ranking officers of the American Youth Congress: the Reverend Jack R. McMichael, AYC chairman; Joseph Cadden, and Robert (Bobbie) Thompson, AYC secretary. All spoke and outlined the purposes and program of the Congress. These purposes were incorporated in resolutions at the final session of the Congress.

That in substance these resolutions set forth:

(1) The Ohio Youth Congress and the AYC was against any American intervention in World War II;

(2) Against any assistance to the Allies, either in shipments of munitions or supplies, or any convoys to protect them;

(3) Against conscription and military training;

(4) That the OYC and AYC would support the YANKS organization which recently had been formed at the direction of the Communist Party by one of Harry Bridges' Communist controlled unions on the West Coast.

(5) Would join in forming organizations which would send delegates to a proposed Emergency Peace Mobilization meeting to be held in Chicago in the late summer.

The deponents noted that the various pieces of "peace literature" which were passed out at the sessions of the OYC had been received and were distributed from the local Communist Party headquarters. The resolutions noted above were mimeographed at the completion of the Congress on the local Communist Party's mimeograph, loaned for the occasion by E. S. Grattan, Communist secretary.

During a recess in one of the evening sessions an event occurred which the deponents found rather odd and amusing. The deponents, Martha Edmiston and John Edmiston, were standing on the mezzanine floor of the hotel with E. S. Grattan, Communist Party secretary; Jack Perloff, YCL organizer; and Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party organizer. This group was joined by the Reverend Jack McMichael and Robert Thompson. (This is the same Robert Thompson who later became general secretary of the Communist Party of New York, who was convicted in the New York Federal Court of teaching the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence, and who now is at large, having jumped bail following his conviction.) Thompson and the Reverend Jack McMichael launched into a discussion of alleged attempts by "FBI agents"

to infiltrate the American Youth Congress. This led to further remarks by the two AYC officials on how to spot "an FBI agent" in Communist Party meetings. The deponents found this both educational and entertaining.

The deponents' next meeting with the Reverend Jack McMichael was at the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago, August 31, 1940. The deponents, who covered this meeting for the FBI were able to report that this convention was entirely Communist-hatched Communist dominated. It was at this 3-day meeting that the Communist Party sought to pull all of its various front organizations and captive unions into a national convention to form yet another huge subversive organization. During the previous months the deponents had been able to trace the course of the Emergency Peace Mobilization from the formation of apparently unrelated and spontaneous "peace leagues" into a national network of "peace" organizations carefully nurtured, guided, and completely dominated by the Communist Party.

Held in the Chicago Stadium, the Emergency Peace Mobilization was attended by more than 23 thousand delegates.

The Reverend Jack McMichael was one of the principal speakers at the Emergency Peace Mobilization. He spoke at the "Anti-Conscription Rally" held in the Stadium on the first day of the meeting at 8 p. m. Dr. John B. Thompson was general chairman of the "Rally."

On the final day of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, the new organization, The American Peace Mobilization, was founded. At that time the Reverend Jack McMichael was named vice chairman of the new organization. The objects of this organization are well known: In short, they were to keep America from rendering any assistance to the Allies, from taking defense measures, and to impose every kind of opposition to the building up of America's Armed Services. This organization long has been on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations.

The deponents further depose and say that the Communist Party instantly abandoned its "peace" activities when Germany invaded Russia on June 22, 1941. Until that very day the American Peace Mobilization was the Communist Party's principal front organization for weakening America's military defense. Shortly after that date the American Peace Mobilization had a change of name to the "American People's Movement" and the group now called for all-out aid to Soviet Russia and the Allies, urged American intervention in the war and the setting up of a "second front."

On July 4, 1941, the deponent Martha Edmiston attended a national conference of the American Youth Congress in Town Hall, Philadelphia, at which time the Communist Party officially announced the change in the "party line" to the American Youth Congress.

Once again, the Reverend Jack McMichael took a leading role in the conference. He was at that time the chairman of the American Youth Congress and vice chairman of the Emergency Peace Mobilization. At that meeting, attended by some 1,500 delegates of the youth organization and allied Communist-front groups, the Communists abruptly dropped all "peace slogans" and began talking about "Youth For Victory."

The deponent Martha Edmiston sat with the Reverend Jack McMichael on a panel devoted to aid to China, at which time Mr. McMichael discussed conditions in China under Japanese occupation and the urgency of need for American aid.

The deponent attended this meeting as a delegate of the Workers' Alliance of America, Hamilton County chapter (Cincinnati). Her appointment as a delegate and her instructions were given by Marjorie Dowers, open Communist and member of the Hamilton County (Ohio) Communist Party's executive committee, and Joanne Moore, secretary of the Hamilton County Young Communist League. All delegates from the Cincinnati area attending this convention were members of the Communist Party. All persons to whom the deponent was introduced in Philadelphia were introduced as Communist Party members.

There was some friction at the meeting. The Communists had to force their "party line" change down the throats of a small minority of delegates who were Socialists, but in general the conference went smoothly and the American Youth Congress made its about-turn, meekly accepting the new Communist Party line as its program, as it had accepted the "peace slogan" in the past.

And the deponent further notes that this was the first of any of the meetings of the American Youth Congress or any of its affiliated organizations at which she heard the Star-Spangled Banner sung.

In December 1941 both deponents were expelled from the Communist Party as "proven FBI spies." They testified to some of the facts contained above at a hearing before the United States House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities on July 13-14, 1950.

On or about July 18, 1950, the deponents again met the Reverend Jack McMichael. He was at the time the executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action. The occasion of meeting him was the conference of the federation held at Wilberforce University. Mr. McMichael was one of the principal speakers at the meeting. Also speaking with him was Dr. John B. Thompson, who had spoken with Mr. McMichael at the Emergency Peace Mobilization 10 years before.

At the Wilberforce meeting Mr. McMichael voiced what then was the accepted Communist Party line. He blamed America for "aggression" in Korea and saw the United Nations as an "invader." Absolving Soviet Russia of blame, he and other speakers at the meeting advocated the immediate withdrawal of United Nations troops from Korea. He also advocated the recognition of Red China's "democratic government of the people of China" by the United Nations. He spoke against conscription and defense rearmament.

At this meeting, attended by relatively few delegates, there appeared a report prepared by several members of the MFSA urging the ousting of Mr. McMichael as executive secretary for his "known activities" in Communist-front organizations. This report, containing more than 20 pages, listed 48 Communist Party front organizations in which, the report charges, Mr. McMichael had been active since the beginning of 1948.

The deponents learned that this report, however, failed to create any wide distrust in Mr. McMichael on the part of the great majority of the delegates. On the contrary, they gave him a vote of confidence, voting to retain his services by an overwhelming majority.

Unfortunately, the deponents had no opportunity to talk with the Reverend Jack McMichael at this meeting. When the deponent John Edmiston caught Mr. McMichael's eye, Mr. McMichael hurriedly left the room and the deponents were unable to interview him.

Witness the signatures of the deponents this 31st day of January 1953:

/s/ MARTHA N. EDMISTON

/s/ JOHN J. EDMISTON

Sworn to and subscribed before me, a notary public in and for said county and State, on the above date in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio.

/s/ MARY C. YOUNG,

Notary Public, Hamilton County, Ohio.

My commission expires June 12, 1953.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 3" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of a meeting to be held on January 28 to 30, 1938, at the College of the City of New York, under the auspices of the American Youth Congress, which lists Jack McMichael as one of the signers of the call.

The question is did you sign the call of this organization, and I pass you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 3" for identification? Your name is underlined in red, if you are having trouble finding it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would it be relevant to have the particular program outlined read into the record, and names of the other signers? I would suggest that if you want to know the complete picture.

Mr. VELDE. If you will answer the question first, and then the committee will take that up.

Mr. KUNZIG. Document of course will be offered in evidence and it will speak for itself and will show all the names of those who have joined. The only question here is were you one of the signers of this call under the auspices of the American Youth Congress?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, all I have got to go on is my memory and this document. On the basis of memory I do not recall this, but

Detach

..... and mail immediately.

Information about organization

Name
Address
Type of group
Number of Members
Signed

(Secretary)

PRELIMINARY REGISTRATION

Name
Address
Field Trip
Name
Address
Field Trip

Names of Assemblymen

(None choice)

(Name choice)

to
N. Y. C. Council
American Youth Congress
105 West 40 Street
New York City

Telephone LO 54938



REPRESENTATION

The Model Legislature of Youth, patterned after the United States Congress, is a non-partisan organization, of an Assembly and legislative commissions.

Each state and city organization is entitled to two members in the Assembly.
Each local organization, branch, or section of a state or city organization, is entitled to one Assemblyman for every twenty-five members or more thereafter.

LEGISLATION AND RESOLUTIONS

Youth organizations are expected to submit proposals for legislation and resolutions before the Model Legislature opens. Legislative forms may be secured from the N. Y. C. Council of the American Youth Congress. All legislative proposals must be submitted to the City Council on or before Monday, January 24.

FEES

Assemblymen \$.75 for all sessions and events (excluding the dance).
Visitors and observers, \$.35 per day.

REGISTRATION

All registration of delegates and observers will take place during the ten days prior to the opening of the Model Legislature at the office of the N. Y. C. Council, American Youth Congress, 105 West 40 Street, New York City. Delegates must bring identification checks and money orders with the credentials may do so; they will receive in return a receipt entitling them to secure their delegates' cards at the opening session of the Legislature. EVERY ONE SHOULD TRY TO REGISTER BEFORE JANUARY 28.

DANCE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Tickets for the dance may be purchased in advance from the New York City Council office.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION

Write to—

N. Y. C. COUNCIL
AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS
105 West 40 Street
New York City

IF YOU WERE A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK STATE LEGISLATURE

What Would YOU Do . . .

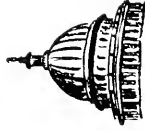
- about unemployment
to create job opportunities—*for all.*
- about the threat of a second world war
to guarantee peace and security—*for all.*
- about slums
to build decent comfortable homes—*for all.*
- about crime and delinquency
to provide healthful recreation facilities—*for all.*
- about drop-outs from school and college
to increase educational opportunities—*for all.*
- about industrial despotism
to develop better wage, hour, and working conditions—*for all.*
- about evictions and farm mortgage foreclosures
to achieve a wholesome community life—*for all.*
- about discrimination, religious intolerance, and prejudice
to establish democratic equality—*for all.*

*What Would YOU Do To Make
The Empire State . . .*

- a State of greater opportunity
- a State of greater life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness
- a State of greater liberty and justice

— for all?

Calling YOUNG PEOPLE of NEW YORK



to the

NEW YORK STATE MODEL LEGISLATURE

at the

COLLEGE of the CITY of NEW YORK
Convent Avenue and 139 Street
NEW YORK CITY — JAN. 28-30, 1938

THE PURPOSE

of this

MODEL LEGISLATURE.

is to give the young people of this state an opportunity to consider their mutual problems, seek their own solutions, and strengthen the cooperative efforts among organizations of youth and agencies serving youth. It will provide the means by which these organizations can accomplish things together which they could not accomplish alone. In a spirit of real fellowship it will offer the young people of the state a chance to learn from each other and from their elders how they can best work together to contribute to the welfare of their generation, their country and their world.

on the basis of the document it would seem that I did, along with many distinguished people and that, from glancing at it hurriedly, was a program well in the traditions of the American democracy. That is my impression on looking at it. I was trying to see something about the contents.

Mr. VELDE. Your answer is that you don't remember.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't actually remember it, but the document does list me, along with other people.

Mr. VELDE. Would you state categorically that you signed the petition?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No, I can't do it because I don't remember it. It may well be that I did.

He has this New York State model legislature and it lists various people, including myself as signers for what hastily appears to be a pretty worthy program in the terms of interest of young people. I do not happen to remember it.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in recess now until 2:30 this afternoon.

(Thereupon, at 1:32 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p. m., the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:42 p. m., of the same day, the proceedings were resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle (appearance noted in transcript).)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show at this point that I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Jackson, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Doyle, and myself as chairman for the purpose of continuing this hearing.

It is the feeling of the Chair that inasmuch as counsel, I believe, can be present tomorrow and the witness also can be present tomorrow that we should not proceed longer than 6 o'clock this evening. And if there are other questions following that, that we will continue until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning. With that, Mr. Counsel, will you proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to——

Mr. VELDE. I asked counsel to proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer into evidence the document which has been marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 3." I would like to offer it in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 3.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection it will be admitted.

(Call by the American Youth Congress to New York State model legislature at the College of the City of New York, January 28-30, 1938, including program and sponsors, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 3.)

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, in order to save time, instead of my reading the various citations of organizations which have been cited as subversive or Communist by different committees of Congress, and the Attorney General, I should like to ask your permission, sir, and ask that a committee member make a motion to the effect that the cita-

tions of organizations which come up during this hearing automatically be incorporated into the written record instead of my reading them aloud at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Is there any objection to the suggestion of counsel?

Mr. DOYLE. No, provided that the citation includes the date.

Mr. KUNZIG. The citation shall include the exact, verbal verbatim citation in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications issued May 14, 1951.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be so ordered.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked McMichael Exhibit No. 4 for identification, Mr. Chairman, which is a photostatic copy of a portion of the proceedings of the Fifth Congress of Youth held by the American Youth Congress, July 1 to July 5, in New York City in 1939, at which the Reverend Jack McMichael was elected chairman. I should like to ask you whether you attended that session and whether you were elected chairman of the American Youth Congress at that time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I attended the session for the National Intercollegiate Christian Council which is composed of the student YMCA and YWCA youth groups affiliated with the Congress, and I was elected chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer this document in evidence as McMichael Exhibit No. 4, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(Proceedings of Fifth American Youth Congress, July 1-5, 1939, New York City, was received in evidence as McMichael Exhibit No. 4.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 4

(Part 1)

PROCEEDINGS



CONGRESS *of* **YOUTH**



JULY 1-5, 1939

NEW YORK CITY

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 4

(Part 2)

Calling the Congress of Youth

We the Undersigned*

urge the organizations of youth and the agencies serving youth to respond to this CALL to the CONGRESS OF YOUTH. We take the initiative in calling the young people of America together to give them an opportunity to consider their mutual problems and train themselves for self-government by practicing citizenship.

JOHN P. DAVIS, *National Negro Congress*
 COURTENAY DINWIDDIE, *National Child Labor Committee*
 DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
 W. P. FREEMAN, *Order of Rainbow for Girls*
 T. ARNOLD HILL, *National Urban League*
 CHASE KIMBALL, *League of Nations Association*
 MRS. EDGERTON PARSONS, *Pan-Pacific Women's Association*
 LELAND REX ROBINSON, *League of Nations Association*
 LESTER F. SCOTT, *Camp Fire Girls*
 GEORGE N. SHUSTER, *"Commonweal"*
 GEORGE SOULE, *Editor, "The New Republic"*
 MONROE SMITH, *American Youth Hostels Association*
 OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *"The Nation"*
 C. W. WARBASSE, *Cooperative League of the U.S.A.*
 RICHARD WELLING, *National Self-Government Committee*
 MAX YERGAN, *International Committee on African Affairs*

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, *National Council of Negro Women*
 ESTHER CAUKIN BRUNAUER, *American Association of University Women*
 HANNAH CLOTHIER HULL, *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom*
 LENA MADESIN PHILLIPS, *International Federation of Business and Professional Women*
 JOSEPHINE SCHAIN, *National Committee on the Cause and Cure of War*

HEALTH

DR. REGINALD M. ATWATER, *American Public Health Association*
 DR. KENDALL EMERSON, *National Tuberculous Association*
 DR. EDWARD HUMF, *Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work*
 E. D. MITCHELL, *Journal of Health and Physical Education*
 WILLIAM F. SNOW, *American Social Hygiene Association*

EDUCATION

LEROY E. BOWMAN
 WILLIAM H. BRISTOW, *National Congress of Parents and Teachers*
 MRS. H. R. BUTLER, *National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers*
 PRESIDENT W. W. COMFORT, *Haverford College*
 PRESIDENT DONALD J. COWLING, *Carleton College*
 PRESIDENT JOHN W. DAVIS, *West Virginia State College*
 EDGAR J. FISHER, *Institute of International Education*
 ROBERT MORSS LOVETT, *University of Chicago*
 PRESIDENT HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN, *Massar College*
 ACTING PRESIDENT NELSON P. MEAD, *College of the City of New York*
 ORDWAY TEAD, *Board of Education, New York*
 IRMA E. VOIGHT, *National Association of Deans of Women*
 MARY E. WOOLLEY, *President Emeritus, Mount Holyoke College*

TRADE UNION

LUIGI ANTONINI, *International Ladies' Garment Workers Union*
 HEYWOOD BROWN, *American Newspaper Guild*
 REDMOND BURR, *Order of Railway Telegraphers*
 JEROME DAVIS, *American Federation of Teachers*
 FRANK GILLMORE, *Associated Actors and Artists of America*
 J. B. S. HARDMAN, *Editor, "The Advance," Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America*
 GARDNER JACKSON, *Labor's Non-Partisan League*
 SPENCER MILLER, JR., *Workers Education Bureau of America*
 PHILIP MURRAY, *Steel Workers Organizing Committee*

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 4

(Part 3)

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, *Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*
 REID ROBINSON, *International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers*
 ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN, *Women's Trade Union League*
 A. F. WHITNEY, *Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen*

SOCIAL SERVICE

LUCY P. CARNER, *Council of Social Agencies of Chicago*
 CHARLOTTE CARR, *Hull House*
 HAZEL E. FOSTER, *Association of Church Social Workers*
 HELEN HALL, *National Federation of Settlements*
 FRED K. HOEHLER, *American Public Welfare Association*
 HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *National Conference of Social Work*
 EDUARD C. LINDEMAN, *New York School of Social Work*
 FRANCIS H. MCLEAN, *Family Welfare Association of America*
 LILLIE M. PECK, *National Federation of Settlements*
 MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH, *Greenwich House*
 LILLIAN D. WALD, *Henry Street Settlement House*

GOVERNMENT

RUTH O. BLAKESLEE, *Social Security Board*
 C. A. BOTTOLFSSEN, *Governor of Idaho*
 ARNOLD B. CAMMERER, *National Parks Service*
 ARTHUR CAPPER, *U.S. Senator from Kansas*
 JOHN M. COFFEE, *U.S. Representative from Washington*
 L. D. DICKENSON, *Governor of Michigan*
 MATTHEW A. DUNN, *U.S. Representative from Pennsylvania*
 JAMES A. FARLEY, *U.S. Postmaster General*
 THOMAS F. FORD, *U.S. Representative from California*
 FRANK W. FRIES, *U.S. Representative from Illinois*
 LEE E. GEYER, *U.S. Representative from California*
 HAROLD L. ICKES, *Secretary of the Interior*
 ED. V. IZAK, *U.S. Representative from California*
 R. T. JONES, *Governor of Arizona*
 MARVEL M. LOGAN, *U.S. Senator from Kentucky*
 ROBERT MARSHALL, *United States Forestry Service*
 JOHN MOSES, *Governor of North Dakota*
 JAMES E. MURRAY, *U.S. Senator from Montana*
 CULBERT L. OLSON, *Governor of California*

ROBERT F. WAGNER, *U.S. Senator from New York*
 C. W. WARBURTON, *U.S. Department of Agriculture*
 M. L. WILSON, *Under Secretary of Agriculture*

RELIGIOUS

HENRY A. ATKINSON, *World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches*
 NAOMI BRODIE, *Junior Hadassah*
 MRS. SAMUEL MCCREA CAVERT, *Young Women's Christian Association*
 SAMUEL M. COHEN, *Young People's League of the United Synagogue of America*
 BISHOP RALPH S. CUSHMAN, *Methodist Episcopal Church*
 ROBERT C. DEXTER, *American Unitarian Association*
 MRS. KENDALL EMERSON, *Young Women's Christian Association*
 FREDERICK L. FAGLEY, *General Council of the Congregational and Christian Churches*
 STEPHEN H. FRITCHMAN, *Unitarian Youth Commission*
 WILLIAM E. GARDNER, *National Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church*
 PHILIP B. HELLER, *American Jewish Congress*
 RUFUS M. JONES, *American Friends Service Committee*
 CAROLINE B. LOURIE, *National Council of Jewish Juniors*
 LOUISE MEYEROVITZ, *Young Judea*
 J. CARRELL MORRIS, *Christian Youth Council of North America*
 HELEN MORTON, *National Intercollegiate Christian Council*
 REVEREND A. CLAYTON POWELL, JR., *Abyssinian Baptist Church*
 HENRIETTA ROELOFS, *Young Women's Christian Association*
 CARL C. SEITTER, *National Council of Methodist Youth*
 KATHERINE TERRILL, *Council for Social Action, Congregation and Christian Church*
 JAY A. URICE, *Young Men's Christian Association*
 CHARLES C. WEBBER, *Methodist Federation for Social Service*
 BISHOP HERBERT WELCH, *Methodist Episcopal Church*

*The signers are issuing this Call, not as the official representatives of their organizations, but in their personal capacities as individuals deeply concerned with the role of young people in the United States.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 4

(Part 4)

NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Support of

Thomas-Larrabee Federal Aid to Education Bill.
 Wagner Health Bill.
 Bloom Neutrality Act Revision Bill.
 Pittman Resolution embargoing violators of Nine-Power Treaty.
 Wagner-Van Nuys Anti-Lynching Bill.
 Mitchell Bill barring discrimination on interstate carriers.
 Wagner Labor Relations Act without amendment.
 Wagner-Rogers Child Refugee Bill.
 Amendments to Social Security Act extending benefits to migratory, agricultural and domestic workers.
 Pensions of \$60 per month at age of 60.
 Extension of Federal Farm Loans.
 Placement of C.C.C. under civilian control and extension of educational program.
 Expansion of N.Y.A. and W.P.A.

Ratification of

Child Labor Amendment.

Repeal of

Oriental Exclusion Act.

Opposition to

Smith Omnibus Bill and others directed at curtailment of civil liberties.

OFFICERS ELECTED

The Nominations Committee, elected at the Congress, presented a slate of Officers, made up from nominations received from organizations and State Delegation meetings, to the Joint Session of Senate and House. At the Session, declinations, substitutions, and nominations were accepted from the floor and a final ballot distributed for the vote resulting in the election of the following Officers:

CHAIRMAN—Jack McMichael, National Intercollegiate Christian Council

VICE-CHAIRMEN—J. Carrel Morris, Christian Youth Council of North America

James B. Carey, *United Electric, Radio and Machine Workers of America*

Mary Jeanne McKay, *National Student Federation of America*

Louise Meyerovitz, *Young Judea*

Edward E. Strong, *National Negro Congress, Youth Section*

James V. Krakora, *Czechoslovak Society of America*

(Representative of farm organization to be named later)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 4

(Part 5)

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

New England—Alexander Karanikas, *Massachusetts Youth Congress*Middle Atlantic—Michael Gravino, *New York State Youth Council*East Central—Myrtle Powell, *Pittsburgh Y.W.C.A.*South—Thelma Dale, *Southern Negro Youth Congress*Miss Jimmy Woodward, *Y.W.C.A., Randolph-Macon College*South West—Wynard Norman, *Oklahoma City Youth Assembly*West Central—Harlan Crippen, *Minnesota Youth Assembly*West Coast and Rocky Mountain—Clara Walldow, *California Youth Legislature*

Puerto Rico—Julia Rivera

TREASURER—Harriet Pickens, *Business and Professional Council; Y.W.C.A.*

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY—Joseph Cadden

REPRESENTATIVES-AT-LARGE

Clarence Carter, *Connecticut Conference of Youth*Daniel J. Spooner, *Young Peoples League of the United Synagogue of America*Howard Ennes, *Washington, D. C., Youth Council*Joseph Lash, *American Student Union*Margeret Day, *National Federation of Settlements*Josiah R. Bartlett, *Social Action Committee, Union Theological Seminary*

(Representatives of Industrial Council, Y.W.C.A. and an A. F. of L. Union to be named later)

Elected Officers listed above constitute the Cabinet of the American Youth Congress.

The Cabinet, meeting on July 5, made the following appointments:

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY—Frances M. Williams

LEGISLATIVE DIRECTOR, Abbott Simon

CREDENTIALS REPORT

Presented by the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Roy Lancaster of the Gas By-Product, Coke and Chemical Workers.

736 Senators and Representatives representing organizations with a total membership of 4,697,915 (after subtraction for duplication) are accredited at the Congress of Youth. Of these, 96 are Senators delegated by 63 different national organizations; 640 are Representatives from 450 organizations.

Representation of women is approximately two-thirds that of men. The youngest delegate is 14 years old and the median age is 22.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have a document marked "McMichael No. 5" in which there is a picture of Jack McMichael and under the picture it says "Jack McMichael, of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, newly elected chairman of the American Youth Congress." This document is the Young Communist Review¹⁴ of August 1939. This is marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 5" and I hand it to you and ask you whether that is a picture of you and whether you were, as you stated a moment ago, so elected, if that document is correct in what it states.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, it states what I have already stated, that I was from the National Intercollegiate Christian Council and elected chairman of the Youth Congress.

Mr. VELDE. You haven't answered the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is the same question.

Mr. VELDE. Is the statement contained in the exhibit true?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will have to see the exhibit again. If it is a matter of my being elected, I have said that.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 5," Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(August 1939 Young Communist Review, article, What Happened at the AYC, by Carl Ross, was received in evidence as McMichael Exhibit No. 5.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 5

(Young Communist Review, August 1939, pp. 5-7)

WHAT HAPPENED AT THE AYC

By Carl Ross

If you read the newspapers, the chances are you have heard a lot about the Congress of Youth which met in New York City, July 1 to 5. The whole country knows about it—the reactionary press has seen to that. But it's still necessary to state the facts behind the headlines.

Seven hundred and thirty-six delegates from 23 states, including 66 delegates from national youth organizations, and representing in all 4,700,000 young people made up this Congress. This does not include the 10 million youth that the United Christian Youth Movement claims to represent.

While in respect to farm youth, the Congress showed definite weaknesses, even compared to the Milwaukee meeting 2 years ago, in its representation from the Christian youth groups, the trade union youth, and local community councils definite gains can be recorded. Certainly, from the point of view of its political maturity, in its crushing defeat to the red-baiters, its firm stand for the unity of all progressives, and its support for New Deal legislation, the Fifth Model Youth Congress indicated major advances.

Just as coming events cast their shadow before them, the issues of 1940 dominated this Congress. That emphasizes its importance. For if we learn the lessons of this Congress, we have advance clue to many of the trends that can be expected in other organizations for some time to come.

Most important among the specific measures which the Congress advocated is the Homestead Act of 1939, a proposed bill to the United States Congress calling for a revolving fund of up to \$500,000,000 out of which loans would be made for expenses of education, medical expenses, for marriage bounties and subsidies to young people establishing homes, funds for young people to buy land and seed, as well as money for young people to establish themselves in businesses, and the professions.

¹⁴ Young Communist Review:

1. Published by the National Board of the Young Communist League of the United States (California Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1948, p. 181).

2. Successor to the Young Worker, nationwide magazine of the Young Communist League (Massachusetts House Committee on Un-American Activities, report, 1938, p. 185).

This is the kind of program, as the keynote address by Joseph Cadden put it will "preserve the character, health, and morale of the American Youth." Although the Congress was prevented from working out aggressive plans in its behalf, this is undoubtedly its most significant new legislative proposal. It can really arouse the kind of support from young people which distinguished the campaign around the American Youth Act several years ago. The Homestead Act should be seen together with proposals for an apprenticeship program, a program of vocational training in the industry, to both of which the YCL gives its active support.

In addition to their stand for revised neutrality legislation that would make America a force for peace against fascist aggression, the delegates spoke out for the unity in the labor movement, for the defense of the Wagner Act and for the fullest expansion of the Good Neighbor policy. Likewise, it emphasized the importance of citizenship education in preparation for the elections of 1940, and proposed that Armistice Day be set aside as a day "of youth education and action for peace."

The importance of the Congress program for citizenship training can hardly be overemphasized. Projects of this kind have been recommended by youth organizations for many years. The YCL adds its weight to the movement for citizenship training together with expressions of approval that have already come from Catholic youth organizations, the Boy Scouts and others.

Among other positive aspects of the advances at this Congress compared with the past was the complete exposure of the Socialists, the Trotskyite influenced elements, and the unprincipled pacifists. On the peace position they were wholly isolated, and their pet project the Ludlow amendment rejected overwhelmingly. Early in the Congress, they had themselves introduced a substitute creed to the one which the Congress adopted and which is reprinted elsewhere in these pages. In that original creed, they themselves lumped fascism and communism together.

But in the face of the outright reactionary attack, they were compelled to distinguish themselves from the Coughlinites, fascists, and others. So they withdrew their proposed creed. But when the final resolution was introduced on the floor, "opposing all forms of dictatorship, whether they be Communist, Fascist, or Nazi," the Socialist elements, the Youth Committee Against War delegates, and others made themselves completely comical by rushing to support the resolution, bewailing the fact that they had not been invited to formulate, if and qualifying their position with a little red-baiting of their own.

Another positive aspect of the Congress were the organizational changes that make possible improving its work and solidifying itself among local communities. Changes in the leadership of the Congress should also be mentioned. Jack McMichael, of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, the coordinating body of the student YWCA and YMCA, of Atlanta, Ga., was elected chairman. Joseph Cadden was reelected executive secretary, and Harriet Pickens, of the National Business and Professional Division of the YWCA, was elected treasurer. James Carey, secretary of the CIO, and Carrell Morris, of the Christian Youth Council of North America, remain as vice chairmen.

These are all concrete achievements of the Congress. They are a record of a job done under severe handicaps. There can be no doubt but that the Congress was a thoroughly progressive one that scored a victory over reaction and places the progressive youth movement in a stronger, more united position to meet the challenge of 1940. But the real test lies ahead.

In another part of this issue, John Gates deals with the question which dominated the Congress: the issue of red-baiting, and the effort of the reactionaries to disrupt the unity which the Congress had achieved. John Gates explains in detail the position which the delegates of the Young Communist League adopted. He goes deeper into the meaning of the issue which confronted the delegates and explains in a fundamental way the positive aspects as well as the shortcomings of the resolution "opposing all forms of dictatorship, whether they be Communist, Fascist, or Nazi, or any other type, or bearing any other name" which the Congress adopted.

Reactionaries Organizing

Needless to say, the reactionaries will not allow the matter to rest. As John Gates puts it "The Youth Congress has passed through a difficult test with flying colors. The reactionaries received a severe rebuff, but it would be wrong to conclude that they have been finished. Reaction is fearful of the power of a

united, progressive youth movement and will try to split and destroy the Congress throughout the country. They can and must be defeated in no inconsistent and contradictory way."

Already the reactionaries are setting up a new youth center, which will be an agency of the Coughlin-Dies-Republican propaganda. The reactionaries will attempt to use the resolution passed by the Congress as the "Go-Ahead signal" for an offensive against the Communists and progressives generally. Obviously, the best assurance that the youth movement will remain firm against all attacks is for the Communists, once and for all, to convince young people that they are sincere allies of democracy. Once the democratic movement has learned that the Communists on their side represent the best defenders of democracy, that the fascists rather than the Communists represent the true menace of dictatorship, resolutions such as were adopted by the Youth Congress will prove unnecessary.

* * * * *

The Creed of the American Youth Congress

I dedicate myself to the service of my country and mankind.

I will uphold the American ideal, which is the democratic way of life. I will help assure its bounty to all races, creeds, and colors.

I will maintain my country, founded by men and women who sought a land where they could worship God in their own way, as a haven of a free conscience and the free religious spirit.

I will safeguard the heritage of industrial development, technical skill, natural resource and culture which has made my country the inspiration for the youth of all lands, and I will use whatever talents I have to add to that heritage.

I will be a social pioneer helping to forge new tools for an era in which education, the chance to make a decent living, the opportunity for health, recreation, and culture will assure the fullest development to all.

I will respect and defend the Constitution, keystone of American liberties, which includes the Bill of Rights granting freedom of religion and press, of speech and assemblage. I will seek progress only within the framework of the American system of government which is founded on the principle that all political power is vested in the people, and I will oppose all undemocratic tendencies and all forms of dictatorship.

I will help make the United States a force for peace and pledge that my patriotism will not be at the expense of other peoples and nations, but one that will contribute to the brotherhood of man.

I will not permit race prejudice, religious intolerance, or class hatred to divide me from other young people. I will work for the unity of my generation and place that united strength at the service of my country, which I will defend against all enemies.

I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 6" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of a report of the Sixth American Youth Congress entitled "Youth Defends America." This is the July 3-7, 1940, issue and this is the report of the congress held at Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, and shows the Reverend McMichael as chairman.

Did you attend the Sixth American Youth Congress, Reverend McMichael, and were you there as chairman?

Mr. VELDE. Please take your time in examining the documents.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Thank you, kindly.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I attended the meeting at which a resolution was adopted against all dictatorships, Communists, Nazis, and others, among other things, and that was in 1940. I thought possibly you would be interested in the resolution, the matter of the resolution that was adopted at that time which of course the Communists, had they dominated it, would not have approved.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I think that the statement that such a resolution was adopted is sufficient, indicating it was adopted against all totalitarian forms of—

Reverend McMICHAEL. It specifically mentioned various ones and included Communists and I thought that would be of interest to you since there have been allegations about Communist domination, which have not been borne out.

The 1941 meeting adopted a resolution against an American expeditionary force and against American conscription. This was after the Soviet Union had been invaded.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will come to the 1941 document.

Your answer to this, so that we are correct, I believe you did attend this congress and you were there as chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this document in evidence as McMichael Exhibit No. 6.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(Report, Sixth American Youth Congress, July 3-7, 1940, was received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 6.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 6

YOUTH DEFENDS AMERICA

(Report of the Sixth American Youth Congress, pp. 43 and 44)

(College Camp, Lake Geneva, Wis.)

July 3-7, 1940

Published by American Youth Congress, 8 West 40th Street, New York City

RESOLUTION OF APPRECIATION

WHEREAS The Sixth AYC is the most representative and most successful American Youth Congress ever held; and

WHEREAS Many members and friends of the AYC have given unselfishly of the time and energy to make the success of the Congress possible: Therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the Sixth American Youth Congress goes on record voicing its grateful appreciation of the many individuals whose invaluable contributions have made possible the success of the Congress we would especially like to mention the following:

Norma Spelrein and all members of the technical staff of this Congress who have done a very difficult but successful piece of work on the technical staff.

Leslie Gould who has been in charge of coordinating the recreation and programs.

Bridget Roberts, full-time volunteer worker during the past year, who directed the work of 180 volunteer AYC workers of the commissions.

Vivian Liebman, in charge of congress publicity.

Lee Marsh, in charge of rural commission work.

Jack Kalish, in charge of ushers.

Zylphia Horton, song leader; and other entertainers.

Ellen Hays who has worked full time on credentials.

Bernard Liebman, in charge of mimeographing.

Abbott Simon, legislative director.

Fraunces M. Williams, administrative secretary.

Joe Cadden, executive secretary.

Jack McMichael, chairman.

We extend our thanks to Mr. Bentsen, director of College Camp, and Dr. Coffman, President of George Williams College, for their kind cooperation in making it possible for us to hold the Congress here; to those who have prepared the excellent food and to all employees of College Camp who have assisted during the Congress; and to all those persons whose names may have been omitted but who have contributed to the successful arrangements of the Sixth American Youth Congress.

As its final order of business, the Congress entertained the report of the Nominations Committee, approved one change in the Constitution to make possible the election of thirteen delegates at large, voted and elected the following slate of officers and executives:

CHAIRMAN

Jack McMichael, Interseminary Movement.

VICE CHAIRMEN

J. Carrell Morris, Christian Youth Council of North America.
 James B. Carey, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America.
 Mary Jeanne McKay, National Student Federation of America.
 Edward E. Strong, Southern Negro Youth Congress.
 Naomi Ellison, National Industrial Girls Council of the Y. W. C. A.
 Ruth Shields, National Intercollegiate Christian Council.
 Gerald Harris, Jr., Alabama Farmers' Union.

REGIONAL REPRESENTATIVES

New England—Nathaniel Mills, Massachusetts Youth Council.
 Middle Atlantic—Jean Horie, New York Youth Congress.
 West Central—June Wooster, Chicago Youth Congress.
 South—Thelma Dale, Southern Negro Youth Congress; Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, League of Young Southerners.
 Southwest—Nena Beth Stapp, Oklahoma Youth Legislature.
 West Coast—Charles Rosenthal, California Youth Legislature.
 East Central—Doris Miller, Cleveland Youth Council.
 Rocky Mountain—Tom Ely, Colorado Council of Methodist Youth.

TREASURER

Harriet I. Pickens, Business and Professional Council, Y. W. C. A.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

Joseph Cadden.

ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY

Fraunces M. Williams.

ORGANIZATIONAL SECRETARY

Abbott Simon.

RECORDING SECRETARY

Myrtle Powell.

REPRESENTATIVES AT LARGE

Joseph Lash.
 A. Everett Winne, Young Men's Council of the Y. M. C. A.
 Milner Dunn, Young People's Christian Union of the Universalist Church.
 James Robinson, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
 Bert Witt, American Student Union.
 Maxine McKinley, National Intercollegiate Christian Council.
 Sam Freedman, Youth Division of the American Jewish Congress.
 Louise Morley, International Student Service.
 Louis Burnham, Youth Division of the National Negro Congress.
 Leonard Detweiler, National Intercollegiate Christian Council.
 Roy Lancaster, United Mine Workers of America.
 John Darnell, National Student Federation of America.
 Richard Heikkimen, Michigan Committee to Pass the American Youth Act.

"Marching Forward * * *"

Just as he had convened the opening session, had helped guide various interim sessions, reelected Chairman Jack McMichael carried through his responsibilities with a closing address. He spoke of the sincere appreciation with which the new officers accepted the mandate of the delegates. * * *

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 7," a photostatic copy of Review, the publication of the Young Communist League, dated July 22, 1940. There is an article by Max Weiss

under a picture of Jack McMichael. He [Max Weiss] is identified as the national president of the Young Communist League, U. S. A. This article describes the proceedings of the Sixth American Youth Congress, to which we have just referred and at which Jack McMichael was the chairman.

I ask you is it correct that you were reelected chairman at that convention? The heading on the front of the Review is the same magazine—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I was.

Mr. KUNZIG. I hand you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 7" for identification and ask you whether it is correct that you were reelected chairman of the American Youth Congress, as shown in that document.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not having been a reader of this magazine and having any connection with it, it testifies to a fact that could have been secured from a magazine of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, or from the New York Times. I don't know whether that shows that publication.

Mr. VELDE. You did state that you were the chairman?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I was the chairman of that organization.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer McMichael Exhibit No. 7 into evidence at this time, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The July 22, 1940, issue of the Young Communist Review, pp. 8 and 9, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 7.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 7

(Young Communist Review, July 22, 1940, pp. 8 and 9)

YOUTH SPEAKS FOR NATIONAL DEFENSE BASED ON YOUTH NEEDS NOT FOR IMPERIALISM

(By Max Weiss, national president, Young Communist League, U. S. A.)

(Including photograph of Jack McMichael)

GENEVA, Wis.—Issuing a call to American youth to join the emergency campaign to defeat the Roosevelt plan of military conscription and labor camps for youth and to keep America out of war, 482 delegates and 113 observers at the Sixth American Youth Congress, representing over 5 million youth on farms and factories, in churches and schools, returned to their homes to prepare for the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago on Labor Day. The largest gathering of young Americans in history pledged the Youth Congress' participation in the Chicago mobilization.

Lasting 4 days, the sessions produced a youth program which delivered a strong blow to the Roosevelt war program. The declaration on national defense, adopted by an overwhelming majority, declared youth have a right to insist that their ideals and aspirations be embodied in any defense program.

Real National Defense

"For these reasons we oppose those policies which in the name of national defense have been leading America step by step toward involvement in war through incitement of war hysteria, through unauthorized commitments by public officials, through traffic in arms and munitions with belligerents in Europe and Japan, through proposals for American participation in a new Munich at the expense of our own people and other lands."

Stating that "such politics arouse grave fears among us that huge armaments voted by Congress will not be used for defense of our country but for military

adventures abroad or for intervention in internal affairs of the Latin-American peoples," the delegates insisted that "armed forces must not be sent to fight on foreign soil."

The resolution went on to say that "domestic policy based on maintenance and extension of our civil liberties and continued improvement of the living standards of the people" is fundamental to a real program of defense. The Congress affirmed solidarity with the demand of the CIO's executive council that the rights of labor be maintained. It also went on record for the immediate passage of the Federal Anti-Lynching Bill, the Geyer Anti-Poll Tax Bill, expansion of the WPA, and passage of adequate housing and health programs. These were in the forefront of the declaration which attacked the present Administration's drive against the security and liberties of the American people.

Unregimented Youth

The Jobs Commission recommended the "expansion of NYA, CCC, and WPA, under democratic civilian control, strengthening of the Wage-Hour, Walsh-Healey, and National Labor Relations Acts, a great Government housing program, the extension and liberalization of the Social Security Act, increased provision for vocational guidance and training under democratic supervision, and the fight for the 30-hour week."

Greeted by heavy applause, the rural program declared that "the land must be owned by those who farm it." It urged extension of NLRA to all agricultural workers, changing AAA to benefit the small farmer and sharecropper, adoption of a full soil conservation, producing, and marketing co-op program, Federal aid to the young farmer by long-term interest loans, racial equality in educational opportunities and their extension, elimination of malaria, pellagra, tuberculosis, and rickets; the wiping out of the shacks which we call homes, and an end to the discrimination against the Negro people.

"The first line of defense of our country is a free, unregimented, happy youth, guaranteed the right to education, vocational training, and jobs," declared the resolution. "We are opposed to all proposals which have been made for compulsory military training or un-American regimentation of youth in compulsory labor camps."

The commissions on jobs, civil liberties, education, rural youth, housing, and health developed detailed programs and techniques for the cooperation of national and local organizations in order to carry out the program adopted.

Unprecedented provocations in the press and an attempt to disrupt the Congress made by Gene Tunney and Murray Playner found the youth organizations of America united much more firmly and deeply than ever. When the delegates rose at the end of the last session and recited the Creed of the American Youth Congress under the leadership of reelected Chairman Jack McMichael, the strength of their unity was the guarantee that the program adopted would be put into practice in every part of the land.

A long debate occurred on the national-defense declaration when a substitute resolution was introduced by Joe Lash, stating that "to defend our freedom, our security, and our well-being, we favor the continuance of material aid, short of sending an expeditionary force, to the forces resisting the onward march of Hitlerism, particularly to England." It supported conscription indirectly.

Youth leaders declared in discussion that the rulers of England were not "one of the forces resisting the onward march of Hitlerism."

Opposition to labor camps was expressed by the delegates because they declared democracy cannot be defended by Hitlerizing America. The resolution introduced by Lash could muster only 19 of the total votes.

Speaking for the Young Communist League, I said that: "the way to stop the menace of war is for the United States to ally itself with that other great power, the U. S. S. R. * * *. The Young Communist League and the Communist Party have at all times favored friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union. I cannot speak for the Soviet Union, but its policy has always been friendship and collaboration with all countries genuinely desiring peace * * *."

The heralded invasion of the Congress by Gene Tunney did not take place, although the delegates voted unanimously to invite Tunney to address the plenary session after the group of 42 Tunney followers had refused individually to appear before the credentials committee, for seating rights at the Congress.

An effort to place the Congress on record against the Soviet Union was defeated in the resolution presented by Frank Kramer of the University of Wisconsin for condemnation of England, France, Germany, Italy, and the Soviet

Union as dictatorships. Tom Ely, of the Colorado Young Methodists, declared condemnation of the Soviet Union would endanger America's defense because it would provoke hostility with a powerful and friendly neutral country.

Defense of the U. S. S. R.

A young Jewish delegate declared he would oppose condemnation of the Soviet Union because the Jewish people found their rights guaranteed in the Soviet Union. A substitute resolution, introduced by the Resolutions Committee, calling for reaffirmation of the resolution adopted by the Youth Congress last July at the fifth convention, condemning all dictatorships but declaring the right of all young people regardless of race, color, creed, or political belief to be part of the Congress, was adopted by the delegates.

Carl Ross, speaking for the Young Communist League, declared that his organization's delegates would abstain from voting on the resolution, although he did not consider that this resolution applied to the Soviet Union which was a higher form of democracy than that practised anywhere in the world. Ross announced abstention of his organization because of efforts by reactionaries to exploit this resolution. Kramer's resolution was defeated and the resolution adopted last July reaffirmed. The Congress ended on a note of complete unity of the youth movement.

Reverend McMICHAEL. On that question of the Young Communist League, is that the Review? I have been given information about another issue of the Review put out in 1941, complaining about the stand that was taken by the Youth Congress against the wishes of the Young Communists at that meeting. I led a fight against the American Expeditionary Forces. Most of us did not want to go to war until we were attacked and it might be of some interest that the Young Communist League Review, this report has come to me following July 1941, indicated that they had wanted intervention. They wanted intervention in that war in Europe and wanted a stand by the American Youth Congress, and the American Youth Congress instead of what the Young Communists wanted, had adopted a clear stand against an expeditionary force. Thus they admitted they were defeated by the Youth Congress. There was no issue more important to them than intervention in that war, and I led a fight against that and as long as you want to go to Communist magazines I thought you might want to see that. They complained about the stand taken by the Youth Congress against the position they took.

Mr. JACKSON. I suggest the statement of the witness has gone in the record and we might as well go in the regular order again.

Mr. CLARDY. It is remarkable the surprising amount of information you have about something which you say you paid no attention to. That is all I have to say.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to have the secretary read to me that I paid no attention to the American Youth Congress.

Mr. CLARDY. You may go ahead.

Reverend McMICHAEL. There is a charge there. I paid a lot of attention to the Youth Congress.

Mr. KUNZIG. I think the record should show clearly that I am certain the Attorney General of the United States took these various factors into consideration before labeling quite clearly this organization as a Communist-front organization, in toto.

Mr. CLARDY. I don't think there is any doubt in anybody's mind it was a Communist organization.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 8," which is a copy of the Daily Worker of

Monday, July 7, 1941, which reports the Seventh American Youth Congress held in Philadelphia is dated July 6, 1941.

I hand you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 8," and ask you if it is correct that you were reelected national chairman at that time?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wonder why this exclusive reliance on Communist publications for this information?

Mr. VELDE. Will you please answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The New York Times reported that fact.

Mr. VELDE. Will you please answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that was the one year we took the stand against an expeditionary force, under my leadership. It was the American Young Communists—

Mr. VELDE. Under your leadership of what?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Under my chairmanship, the American Youth Congress—

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned Young Communist League or the American Young Communists.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The American Youth Congress took, in July 1941, a stand against an American expeditionary force, of which the American Communist League or the Young Communist League complained in their Review.

Mr. VELDE. You mentioned the Young Communist League.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, having complained against the stand which we took under my leadership. They were opposed to what I did there.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were they opposed to everything you did at all times?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No. They were opposed to that matter of intervention. They were in favor of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. I should like to offer in evidence this document as McMichael exhibit No. 8, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received in evidence.

(Monday, July 7, 1941, issue of the Daily Worker, pp. 1 and 5, article, Youth Adopt Anti-Fascist Program, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 8.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 8

(Daily Worker, July 7, 1941, pp. 1 and 5)

YOUTH ADOPT ANTI-FASCIST PROGRAM

CONGRESS UPHOLDS RIGHTS OF LABOR: REELECTS M'MICHAEL

(By Milton Meltzer)

(Special to the Daily Worker)

PHILADELPHIA, PA., July 6.—Solidly united behind a program to defeat Hitlerism abroad and stop fascism at home, the Seventh American Youth Congress ended its sessions tonight at the Stephen Girard Hotel with the adoption of several proposals for practical action and the election of new officers and cabinet.

Five and a half million organized young Americans were represented at the Congress by 1,100 official delegates, according to the credentials committee report, of the more than 800 local and national organizations who sent delegates. By far the largest single group were trade unions. Students, Christian, youth, local Youth Councils and Negro groups were also heavily represented.

Reelect McMichael

Jack McMichael, young theological student from Georgia, was reelected national chairman. Other executive officers chosen are Joseph Cadden, first vice-chairman, Frances M. Williams, executive secretary; Edward Strong, organizational secretary, and Marie Reed, administrative secretary.

Elected together with these to the national cabinet were 7 vice-chairmen, 10 regional representatives, and 12 representatives-at-large, including leaders of many of America's most important youth, labor, Negro, and religious organizations. Yesterday's closing plenary session, after considerable discussion, adopted a resolution opposing an American Expeditionary Force out of concern that it might be used for imperialist intervention.

Speaking for the Young Communist League, John Gates said that his organization understood youth's concern, but believed that with the new change in the war, permanent peace could be secured only by a military victory over Hitler fascism. The YCL took the position that America must be prepared to take any measure necessary for the end, whether it be political, economic, or military. The Young Communist League abstained from voting on the resolution.

Picket Jim-Crow Hotels

Mass picket lines around two of Philadelphia's jim-crow hotels on Saturday made dramatic for this city the Youth Congress' firm stand against all discriminatory practises (sic).

In one case police forced the pickets off the sidewalk, whereupn (sic) the YCL sent delegations to the City Hall and into the hotels to protest this new defiance of constitutional rights.

During the morning the delegates divided into panels to discuss their local and organizational experiences in carrying out the AYC's program. Conferences of industrial, youth, students, Negro youth, national and fraternal groups, religious and rural youth, heard reports from both leaders and rank and filers that intended to serve as guides for future campaigns on progressive issues.

Fight Repressive Bills

Among the reports of the afternoon were two on civil liberties and conscription. Josephine Timms, secretary-treasurer of the American Communications Association, listed antilabor and discriminatory legislation that the Congress voted to fight against. The resolution passed in this field yesterday supported the antilynching bill, the Geyer-antipoll-tax bill, and the Marcantonio bill to eliminate jim crow in industry and public agencies. All legislation seeking to outlaw minority parties or cut down their rights was opposed, as were anti-Semitic and antialien measures.

The use of the conscription law as a "work or fight" order and the use of troops to break strikes were denounced and "day-to-day cooperation with the labor movement" called for to fight against antilabor moves on every front.

Nathaniel Mills, of the Massachusetts Youth Council, reporting at the conscription panel, in which a number of draftees in uniform participated, said "the conscripts want us to give them a voice. Every local organization ought to have a draftee welfare committee to adopt an Army Camp nearby and become their champions." He urged steady action in behalf of the Congress' new 21-point program "for the material welfare, health, housing, and recreational facilities of the conscripts," embodied in a resolution adopted the preceding night.

"Conscript Week"

The rallying point for action on this will be the National Conscript Week, August 15-21, proposed by the YCL. Organizations are urged to send delegations that week to the camps and public officials, placing pressure upon them to improve the welfare of the boys in the camps.

Another important call proposed today came out of the Negro Youth panel. After hearing intense discussion from Negro and white delegates on their campaigns to end discrimination against Negroes in local industries, in housing, in parks and on beaches, it was decided to work toward a National Conference of Negro Youth to be held some time this Autumn. The plenary session endorsed the proposal enthusiastically.

In an interview with Joseph Cadden, AYC leader, who is also a member of the Committee for the World Youth Congress, Mr. Cadden declared that there

will soon be a meeting of a provisional arrangements committee to discuss details for calling a World Youth Congress.

"Youth delegates from Canada, Cuba, Mexico, India, and China are already in this country," he said. "In Latin America, young people have been thinking of calling a Hemisphere Conference. We plan, following the resolutions to that effect passed here, to invite Youth from countries to the South of us to meet with those already here. Miss Janet Margesson, British Youth leader, will probably arrive in America in mid-July and she, too, will take part in the provisional committee meeting. Interest in this projected World Youth Congress is widespread and rapidly increasing."

Reverend McMICHAEL. The New York Times reported that meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. May I suggest that the witness again be admonished that these uncalled for asides be silenced.

Mr. VELDE. I do not think it makes any difference whether the witness is admonished. I would appreciate it if you would confine your answers to the questions.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I should like to say that I think there is a considerable degree of relationship as between these publications, these Communist publications, and the fact that the witness has been identified under oath as not only a member of the Communist Party but also as a member of the Young Communist League. I believe that we know as a matter of record the favorable comment given to you in Communist publications and that such favorable comment is very seldom given, let us say, the members of this committee. Favorable comment in the Worker or the New Masses is largely confined to those individuals whose actions willingly or inadvertently have given indication of lending some measure of aid and comfort to the matters which are espoused by the Communist Party, the Young Communist League, and things of that sort. So I think those identifications of you must be brought in and must be borne in mind when referring to Communist Party publications.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like you to bear in mind that I have before me the statement by Mr. Johnson that Jack McMichael was a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League and that Mr. Patterson stated that he recognized me from 1934 until I went out in 1935, and that Mr. Patterson said he, referring to me, was a member of the New York district of the Young Communist League and was a member of the top fraction of the Young Communist League, and on the basis of the statement which refers to the Young Communist League I would like to point out to you that the gentleman was falsifying and not on the basis of my statement but on the basis of records. It is not a question of his statement against mine, but in 1934 until he went out in 1935 I was nowhere near where he was. I was at Emory University in Georgia. I was a freshman and sophomore and did not graduate until 1937, and I don't think Mr. Patterson claims that he was down in some kind of a Young Communist League at Emory University, that Methodist university.

Mr. CLARDY. Perhaps you had better pause at this time. You have not seen all the testimony of the witness in question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Counsel made that available to me.

Mr. CLARDY. Let me help you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I appreciate your desire to help me. I am trying to help myself.

Mr. CLARDY. You are going to help yourself in a way you little suspect. May I suggest you not make statements about the witness who has called you a Communist until you have read all his testimony.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have the clear evidence that the man was lying. I was in Georgia and was not anywhere near where he was, so I couldn't possibly have been where he was.

Mr. JACKSON. May we have regular order.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I couldn't possibly have been there.

Mr. VELDE. We did not accuse you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I know you want to be fair with me. I haven't hesitated yet to answer. I want to be careful.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And they contradict themselves.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 9," which is a photostat of the August 5, 1940, edition of Review. The headline is "Youth Fighting To Bar Draft."

The picture says that Jack McMichael is addressing a delegation of youth, the Youth Congress, telling them that there is a job to be done, to keep the United States out of war. On the same page there is a picture which goes on to say that in England the young people have already been given a job. It states "We see them here busily engaged in learning the facts of death."

This photostatic copy describes proceedings of the Sixth American Youth Congress at Lake Geneva.

Did you lecture to the group as pictured here to keep the United States out of war, as shown on McMichael exhibit No. 9?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not having been a reader of this magazine, it has not been one of the publications that I have relied on. I want to glance at it since it is going into the record and concerns me and I notice here that the resolution I referred to before was adopted at that meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. He is not answering the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am going to answer the question.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you be quiet.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair has given you a reasonable time to answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Since that publication is going into this record, it shows them complaining about this resolution against communism and other dictatorships as having been adopted.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel. The witness apparently refuses to answer the question. Will you proceed, Mr. Kunzig?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I spoke to the meeting. That I have already answered before.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you spoke against war?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I spoke against entry into war.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have answered the question.

I offer into evidence the document which is marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 9" for identification.

Mr. VELDE. It will be introduced in evidence, without objection.

(August 5, 1950, issue of Young Communist Review, pp. 2 and 12, article, History Was Made at Sixth Youth Congress, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 9.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 9

(Young Communist Review, August 5, 1940, pp. 2 and 12)

HISTORY WAS MADE AT SIXTH YOUTH CONGRESS

By Carl Ross

SUCH meetings as the sixth American Youth Congress at Lake Geneva are usually described as cross-sections of youth. But in this case that description is not adequate for this was a Congress of the most articulate and capable leadership that American youth has produced both from its national and local movements. Most significant was the strong representation of young people from the labor movement, proving that the collaboration begun especially with the CIO at the *Citizenship Institute* has born fruit.

This Congress more than any previous one was truly national in its scope. No fact reflected this so much as the powerful group of delegates from the South who played a leading part in all deliberations, while the presence of a comparatively large group of farm youth indicated that in this field the youth movement has at last broken the ice and found a good response. A large representation of Negro youth who made important contributions indicated a deeper integration of Negro and white youth movements in the solution of common problems.

The advanced and comprehensive program adopted reflected this broad articulate character of the gathering. While in every respect a minimum program, it will certainly be a guide to action guaranteeing that the Congress will continue to serve the interests of the youth. On the issues of civil liberties for all including the Communists; in the demand for jobs and economic security especially as embodied in the Youth Act; in the programs on health, housing, education and for rural youth; in the Declaration on National Defense and the stand against conscription, a remarkable degree of unity was attained. It is precisely this broad and definite program that made possible the election of a new national leadership (National Cabinet) representing all tendencies within the Congress. Such a leadership even though it does not include a representative of the Young Communist League is certainly to be desired and supported by all including the Communists so long as it adheres to the program to which it is pledged by the Congress. It can be said that the Congress continues to represent broad and diverse sections of the youth regardless of their allegiance to various political groupings. Of course it is regrettable that not as large a number of national organizations as previously were represented, but that in a large measure is compensated in the great increase in local youth council representation and from local bodies of national youth organizations.

Again the American Youth Congress became the focal point of national attention and publicity as the target around which contending forces clashed in their struggle for leadership over the youth and their organizations. Chief of these outside the Congress majority itself were the Playner-Tunney crowd and the group which earlier announced itself as a pro-Roosevelt bloc.

National Attention

Tunney and Playner went down in ignominious defeat except in the columns of the press which gave the ex-champ pugilist enough free publicity to knock him "slaphappy."

Mr. Tunney found it advisable to ashcan Playner's redbaiting platform and to write a new program for the "Pro-American" youth movement he proposes to sponsor. The "new" program is significant in that for the first time this reactionary gang demagogically appeals to the youth on other issues than anti-communism. Even they recognize that the youth of America cannot be won on a program of redbaiting.

Largely for that reason it would be a serious error to underestimate or ignore the danger that the Playner-Tunney crowd or the group of Democratic, Republican, and Legionnaire elements from Michigan who have decided to launch an independent movement represent. It must be borne in mind that it is just from such incipient even "crackpot" groups that fascist movements have sprung up in other countries. The youth can defend their movement only if they remain on guard against disruption and provocation organized by such forces as Playner represents, and by spreading wide the truth about what happened at Lake Geneva.

A Miracle

From the outside the Young People's Socialist League, true to its role of following in the footsteps of reaction, echoed the redbaiting cry of Tunney and Plavner. And to confound those who don't believe in miracles the YPSL performed the impossible feat of again announcing its withdrawal from a Congress it has long ago left.

The pro-Roosevelt and prowar forces represented by Joe Lash and his followers were decisively defeated by the Congress. In fact, they could win so little support among the youth representatives, that they had no other alternative, but to remain within the leadership of the Congress, if they were not to be completely isolated from the youth movement. Their participation in the leadership also indicates, that although the Youth Congress repudiates Roosevelt's prowar and reactionary policies, it remains a movement which is neither for nor against any political party.

The march of history itself was the most powerful force making for the repudiation of the policies put forward before and during the Congress by the administration forces. Even among themselves there was no agreement for support of the conscription proposals of Roosevelt. And in advocating a policy of all aid to Britain in the war with Germany Lash and his friends found that the betrayal and fall of France had swept the ground out from under their feet. The path toward war inherent in the policy of aid to British imperialism smacked the Congress squarely between the eyes. Its Declaration on National Defense pledged the youth of America to the defense of our country against "*any attack of enemies from without and any betrayal from within, as in France,*" but rejected the war-policy of the administration.

The young Communists supported that declaration while pointing out that America's best assurance for the defense of its peace and security lies in collaboration with the Soviet Union. Such a statement would immeasurably have strengthened the stand of the AYC, but the fact remains that this is not yet fully recognized by a majority of the organized youth and their representatives.

The Congress repudiated the imperialist policy of the Roosevelt administration and its supporters. If there was any criticism to be made it would be that the similar policy of the Republican Party was not exposed and rejected with equal vigor and emphasis.

No Redbaiting

The press has made much of the refusal of the Congress to be stampeded into redbaiting attacks upon the Soviet Union and the Communists. Again the answer cannot be found within the Congress itself as the newspapers with their slanders about "Communist control" would have it. Mr. Lash who only a few weeks before the Congress had demanded that the AYC condemn the Soviet Union as an aggressor nation and as a "dictatorship" was strangely silent on this matter.

When a lone anti-Soviet resolution was introduced Mr. Lash and the Administration bloc shyly kept to the background because the intent of such a resolution as creating dissension, as creating a war hysteria towards a friendly nation was obvious for all to see. Events in the Baltic and Balkans have added proof to the peaceful liberating role of the Soviet Union especially to the Jewish peoples.

For the first time in any Youth Congress an open bold defense of the Soviet Union was undertaken by others than Communists, not because they necessarily agreed fully with its policies, but because they have recognized its peaceful role and the necessity of friendship by the United States towards so powerful a neutral.

However a majority of the Congress felt they could best dissasociate (sic) themselves from the charge of "Communism," and declare their Americanism by reaffirming the resolution adopted a year ago against "all forms of dictatorship." As last year the spokesman of the Young Communist League pointed out that this resolution does not apply to Communists who are defenders of democracy nor to the Soviet Union whose people enjoy the highest, Socialist, democracy. But because this same resolution has been misinterpreted and used by reactionaries against both the Congress and the Communists the delegates of the YCL declared their inability to support it and abstained from voting.

YCL Stand

That such a resolution, open to misinterpretation by reaction as an attack upon Communists and the Soviet Union, was adopted is unfortunate. But con-

tinuing to explain its own aims and the principles of the Soviet Union, the YCL will cooperate with the Youth Congress on all other questions on which it holds a policy in common with the AYC.

The American Youth Congress has come of age. It confronts new burdens and new responsibilities with greater maturity. And with barely a breathing space to gather its new-found resources the American Youth Congress has moved on to the greater task of assuring the success of the Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Practically all young people were against going into war, Mr. Chairman, especially the Christian people.

Mr. KUNZIG. They did not all shift.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I did not shift.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 10" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of Review again, the same publication, dated September 30, 1940, which reports that the American Youth Congress held a national cabinet meeting in Chicago during the weekend of the Emergency Peace Mobilization which was held there.

Did you attend this national cabinet, which is listed here on exhibit No. 10, marked so for identification, of the American Youth Congress?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is there a date on that?

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe the date is August 31, 1940, between August 31 and September 2, 1940. It was the American Youth Congress, the national cabinet of the American Youth Congress. You have already said you were at the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and I told you I got married very shortly thereafter. I do not have memory of it and I do not propose to just rely on this particular magazine to take the place of my memory.

It would seem that if there were a cabinet meeting I endeavored to be there, because I took my job seriously, so I am sure that I must have chaired it.

Mr. VELDE. You did chair the meeting.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recall the meeting, but if there was a meeting held there, I am not sure I was there. Not all reports, Communist or otherwise, are accurate.

Mr. VELDE. You have no memory of it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do have—I was saying I could refer to the diary.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; this is important. If you want to consult your diary, certainly.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not find it mentioned in the diary, but I am not denying having chaired it.

Mr. VELDE. After consulting your diary, you now recollect?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recollect the meeting, but if there was a meeting held at all, and there may be some other evidence, I will be glad to look it up. I may have some records of it, cabinet records. I certainly remember chairing cabinet meetings in general.

Mr. CLARDY. In view of what you said about not finding any reference to this particular meeting in your diary, but suggest that despite that you might have attended, I wonder if you will not agree that you may have attended many meetings that are not recorded in your diary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't suppose that I could agree to that because I may have made some slips and not put something down.

Mr. CLARDY. It is possible you may have attended some meetings that are not recorded in your diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is perfectly possible, as I said before, if there was a cabinet meeting I probably chaired it. I cannot recall it.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 10.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(September 30, 1940, issue of *Young Communist Review*, p. 3, article, *Yardstick for First Voters Drawn Up by Youth Congress*, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 10.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 10

(*Young Communist Review*, September 30, 1940, p. 3)

YARDSTICK FOR FIRST VOTERS DRAWN UP BY YOUTH CONGRESS

A "Yardstick" which young people can use to measure candidates for public office is being furnished to America's young voters by the American Youth Congress. At its National Cabinet meeting held in Chicago during the weekend of the Emergency Peace Mobilization, the Youth Congress decided to develop a program of increased activity during this crucial election campaign. Continuing its previous drive for better citizenship, the AYC decided to stress the education of America's young generation on the real issues and problems of the elections. The cabinet showed the importance of such education on issues and on the records of candidates for office so that the drive to get young people to exercise their right to vote will have greater meaning.

When this yardstick is worked out, it will include "measurements" devoted to the candidate's record and stand on the American Youth Act, and on the all-important issue of conscription. It is estimated that this campaign of the American Youth Congress will help defeat those Representatives and Senators who flouted the public will by voting for conscription. Local councils of the AYC are being urged to arrange symposiums where the various candidates for a given office will show how they measure up to the standards set by the American Youth Congress yardstick.

Youth and Labor

To facilitate its legislative activity, especially in behalf of the American Youth Act, the Congress decided to establish a Washington office. This will also make possible closer collaboration between the American Youth Congress and Labor's Non-Partisan League on legislation of benefit to youth and labor. Both Labor's Non-Partisan League and the American Youth Congress are determined to prevent the economic royalist from utilizing the war crisis in order to drive down living standards, deprive the American people of civil rights and liberties, and push America into war.

The cabinet also decided to follow up the intensive activities that had been conducted in behalf of the Emergency Peace Mobilization with a campaign to build the local councils of the American Youth Congress. It was agreed to hold large rallies for peace on Armistice Day, which was also set aside by the American Peace Mobilization as a day to honor the dead of previous wars by preventing the warmongers from involving the young generation in the present slaughter.

The Cabinet meeting which took place on September 1, was opened by The National Chairman of the Youth Congress, Jack McMichael, and the remarks urging active participation in the election campaign along the above lines were made by Joseph Cadden, National Secretary. As a result of the full discussion at the meeting the members of the Cabinet felt that better citizenship in 1940 will mean that America's 9,000,000 first voters in the presidential election will know how to vote for the interests of youth and the people, and against the warmakers.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is true, is it not, that the American Youth Congress had in it the Young Communist League as one of its affiliated groups?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, along with the National Student Young Men's Christian Association, and at times the Young Republicans,

and at times the Young Democrats, and there were about 65 or 70 of those.

Mr. CLARDY. He has made a suggestion about the Young Republicans and the Young Democrats.

Mr. VELDE. No, he has not made any suggestion about the Young Republicans.

Mr. CLARDY. You used those words.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Are you intending to imply that that organization belonged to this group? Just answer my question. Are you implying that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. We had all manner, including Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. CLARDY. That is different. You are not implying that the organization belonged—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am implying more than that. I am implying that there was a Young Republican group represented at a Youth Congress meeting and that Young Democrats were participating, and Young Christians, and I was with the Young Christian group myself.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you were willing to accept the chair and to direct an organization which had in it the Young Communist League; is that correct?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The National Student Young Men's Christian Association.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is that correct?

Mr. VELDE. Answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was under obligation to go there from the National Student Young Men's Christian Association.

Mr. KUNZIG. And under obligation to accept chairmanship of a group which included a Communist group in it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I accepted it.

Mr. KUNZIG. And it included the Communist group, did it not?

Reverend McMICHAEL. And it included the Communist group. Remember about Jesus and the publicans and the sinners, and I considered the Communists sinners and I followed the practices of Jesus.

Mr. VELDE. Are you through?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is all right. It is a kind of propagandizing device he is using.

Mr. KUNZIG. The witness is an expert on propagandizing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I didn't know he was the prosecutor.

Mr. VELDE. That is a very poor statement on your part.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to give you any information on any question and the fuller the information the more satisfied I will be, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. It is almost impossible to talk through the witness.

Mr. VELDE. I recognize the gentleman from California. Will you be quiet a moment, please, Reverend McMichael?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. I have here what purports to be the organizational structure of the American Youth Congress, and I do not find listed either the Young Republican movement or the Young Democrat move-

ment, and I think that should be stated and I must assume that this is the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I see it?

Mr. JACKSON. After I have finished with it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to take a look at it.

Mr. JACKSON. And if it is the will of the Chair, I shall have no objection, but your request comes through the Chair.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see that.

Mr. VELDE. Will you just wait, please?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I would like to see that if I may. Mr. Chairman, I think this—

Mr. CLARDY. Never mind, Witness.

Mr. JACKSON. I merely questioned the statement about the Young Republicans.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This is no source of information.

Mr. JACKSON. I said it purported to be the structural outline of the American Youth Congress.

Reverend McMICHAEL. We published the names of the American youth organization.

Mr. VELDE. Are you disputing the validity of the gentleman from California?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am disputing this.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. We published all the organizations that were affiliated. I will be glad to look it up.

Mr. VELDE. Can you find anywhere on this document where the—

Reverend McMICHAEL. This document is worthless as a source of information.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Where the Young Republicans or the Young Democrats are represented?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wouldn't go to this document to see who was in the Youth Congress. There are groups here that were not in the Youth Congress.

Mr. JACKSON. Was the Young Communist League in the Youth Congress?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Along with the National Student Young Men's Christian Association.

Mr. JACKSON. Were the Young Communists, the Young Communist League in the organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I said along with the Young Democrats and Young Republicans and Young Christians, they were in it.

Mr. JACKSON. It is rather difficult to separate the wheat from the chaff in many of the things you say. I asked you a specific question; was the Young Communist League—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have answered it before.

Mr. JACKSON. And the answer is what?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That along with many other organizations of young Christians they were present.

Mr. JACKSON. I remember you answered it in that manner.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a document which is marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 11" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of a

handbill concerning a rally of the New York division of the Youth Congress held at Mecca Temple, 133 West 55th Street on Friday, January 31, 1941, listing speakers as Vito Marcantonio, Josephine Timms, Jack McMichael, and others.

It is entitled "Rally for Jobs. No Slave Labor. Exposing Plans To Regiment Youth Enforced Labor Battalions. Proposing a Real Program for Jobs and Training for American Youth."

I hand you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 11" and ask you if you did speak at the Mecca Temple, along with Vito Marcantonio, as is listed there.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What is the date, Mr. Kunzig? What is the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. I believe it is January 31, 1941. Isn't that on the front there?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No. It says January 31. I do not see any year. Is it 1941?

Mr. JACKSON. Will you look in your diary for the years 1939, 1940, 1941, and 1942 on that particular day, and maybe it will show.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recall it and have no evidence of it. It might well be that I spoke at some such meeting but I have no—in addition to Mr. Marcantonio it says that Mr. Leneord Detweiler of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council and Madison Jones, the Youth Director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People were to speak. He just picked out two people.

Mr. KUNZIG. The main person we were interested in was you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And he mentioned another one or two.

Mr. KUNZIG. This whole document is going into the record and every bit of what you read will go in the record for all to see.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Quit selecting.

Mr. VELDE. The committee has not said you were not at that meeting.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have not said I was or was not.

Mr. CLARDY. The witness is continually admonishing counsel and the committee on how to conduct the committee. I suggest that he should be told that we are in charge of the procedure and his objections are entirely out of order and contemptuous of the Congress.

Mr. VELDE. Of course the witness has been told that this is a committee of the United States Congress.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and——

Mr. VELDE. And that while——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Sure.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). We have got a lot of insults and vitriolic statements made against us——

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is mutual, brother.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). We are authorized by the United States Congress to investigate——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Sure.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). And report concerning subversive——

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Activities in the United States.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to give any information I can. I want the opportunity of giving you facts, not distorted facts, facts in their whole context.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. VELDE. Will you proceed, Counsel.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is what I am trying to do.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you acquainted with Vito Marcantonio?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I am; I recall having met him.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you acquainted with Josephine Timms?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't recall.

Mr. JACKSON. Are you acquainted with Madison Jones?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That name sounds familiar.

Mr. JACKSON. Leneord Detweiler?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; he was another member of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council.

Mr. JACKSON. And were you acquainted with Charles Klare, director of the Yorkville Youth Services?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That sounds respectable enough, but I cannot recall him.

Mr. JACKSON. You have no present recollection of having appeared on the platform in New York City with these individuals?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I do not have the recollection. I am going to be just as reasonable about it as possible.

Mr. JACKSON. I should like to say that no connotation should attach to the mention of these names in the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is an important point.

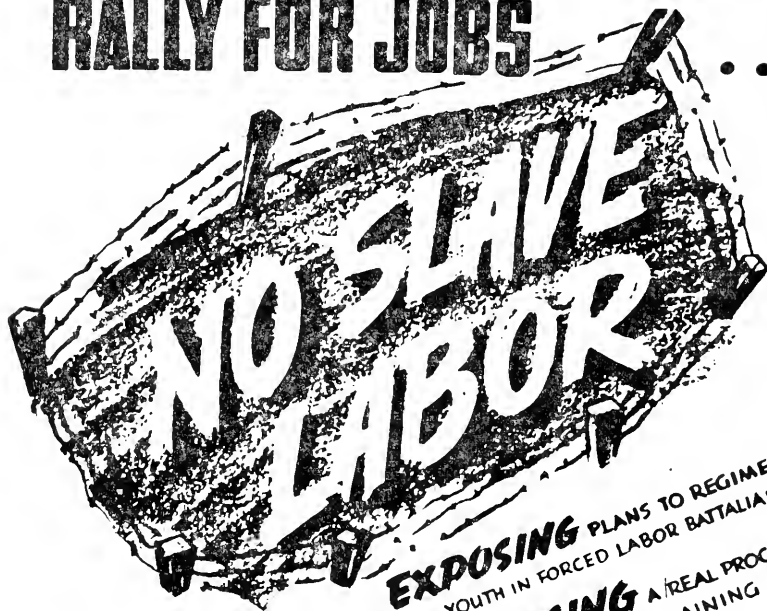
Mr. VELDE. It will be so ordered and, without objection, the exhibit will be introduced.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to make it clear that was McMichael Exhibit No. 11 about which we have been speaking, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; McMichael Exhibit No. 11. It is introduced and received in evidence.

(Handbill advertising the rally, sponsored by the American Youth Congress, Friday, January 31, 1941, at the Mecca Temple, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 11.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 11

RALLY FOR JOBS ...

EXPOSING PLANS TO REGIMENT
YOUTH IN FORCED LABOR BATTALIONS.
PROPOSING A REAL PROGRAM
FOR JOBS AND TRAINING
FOR AMERICAN YOUTH.

MECCA TEMPLE

133 WEST 55 STREET, N.Y.C.

FRIDAY

January 31
8 P.M.
ADMISSION... 25c

*Speakers***CONGRESSMAN****VITO MARCANTONIO****JOSEPHINE TIMMS***American Communication Ass'n***JACK McMICHAEL***Chairman, American Youth Congress***MADISON JONES***Youth Director, W.A.C.P.***LENEORD DETWEILER***Nat'l. Intercolligate Christian Council***CHARLES KLARE***Director, Knoxville Youth Services*

SPONSORED BY

NEW YORK YOUTH CONGRESS: 114 EAST 32 ST., NEW YORK CITY

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 12" for identification which is a photostatic copy of a confidential police report showing personal observation of the rally of the New York division of the New York Youth Conference held in Mecca Temple, New York City, and quoting Reverend McMichael as saying that he had gone to Washington before conscription and tried to get some reforms into the bill but had not been successful. He wanted some other things which are mentioned.

I hand you this document and ask you whether you did attend that rally on that date, as this document says.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, it says, "McMichael said that he had gone to Washington——"

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question, please, first?

Reverend McMICHAEL. And it goes on and says—

before conscription and tried to get some reforms into the bill but had not been successful. He wanted (1) no Jim Crow regiments, (2) to send people near their homes.

It sounds like a good idea.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. This refers to the same meeting and it does not refresh my memory. It is the same meeting that the question was asked about before and I find these aims very worthy from a Christian point of view.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer has to be the same as before. I do not have any memory of being at that meeting.

Mr. CLARDY. And you are not sure you were not there?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right; I am not sure I was or was not there.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this document in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 12.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received.

(Confidential police report, Mecca Temple rally, January 31, 1941, was received in evidence at McMichael exhibit No. 12.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 12

(Confidential Police Report)

AMERICAN STUDENT UNION
YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
Fri., Jan 31st, 1941.

Attended A. Y. C. rally at Mecca Temple.

Speakers were: Mrs. JOSEPHINE TIMMS, Nat'l secretary-treasurere (sic.) of AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS ASSOC., CHARLES KLARE, director of Yorkville Youth Service, MADISON JONES, Negro (NAACP), LEONARD DETWEILDER, rep of CHRISTIAN YOUTH and MAIA TURCHIN. The main speaker was VITO MARCANTONIO.

They all called for the defeat of the Lend Lease Bill.

MAIA TURCHIN spoke against the Rapp-Coudert Comm. Asked why Rapp and Coudert didn't investigate a high school in which a pupil was excused from class to sell Social Justice. Urged A. S. U. support by labor. MARCANTONIO ridiculed Halifax and Willkie. Called them the Downing St.-Wall St. axis which will put America into war.

Stated he was for Aid to Britain, but the England of Peoples Convention not the present England. Each person was given a post card which they filled out there and sent to Senator GEORGE or their Congressman calling for defeat of lend lease bill.

A copy of the attached pamphlet—autographed by VITO MARCANTONIO was put up for sale to the highest bidder. Donations were accepted to help publish the pamphlet.

McMICHAEL said that he had gone to Washington before Conscription and tried to get some reforms (sic.) into the bill but had not been successful. He wanted 1.—No Jim Crow regiments, 2—To send people near their homes (camps)

Feb. 1st, 1941.

Attended city-wide A. S. U. meeting for executive members. MAIA TURCHIN gave a report on the perspective for the A. S. U. meeting was attended by about 50 people. It was held in the A. L. P. headquarters at 77 5th Avenue. MAIA TURCHIN stated that the student movement is stronger today than it has ever been. It is the duty of the A. S. U. to rally the campus and fight any proposed bill that Roosevelt makes that would get us into war. However, even though the student movement is strong it has 2 major weaknesses:

1. The ASU hacc (sic.) not brought its positive political program "the people will win the war" to the campus.

2. The ASU does not reflect in the size of its organization its influence and prestige on campus. She listed 6 menaces to the A. S. U. including the Rapp Coudert Committee and the school administrations. Two political tasks face the ASU this term 1. National Conference on Ed. which is being called by A. Y. C. and 2. April 24th Peace Strike. The A. S. U. attitude concerning the TEACHERS UNION's necessity for handing over its membership list is 1. to safeguard the sovereignty of the ASU and 2. it is prepared to defend its members. The ASU will conduct a membership drive from Feb 17th to March 15th. By that time they hope to have 2,000 college members in New York City. Every other Saturday there will be a mass district class and a special training school for 40 leading people in the ASU chapters in NYC.

Discussion of membership and fund drives sale of Student Advocate etc, followed.

Feb. 3rd, 1941.

Attended ASU exec at MIMI SEGAL's, 250 W 103rd St. CLAIRE NEIKIND from the district office was there to give us guidance. Others present were:

MERVYN JONES
BOB CLAIBORNE
DICK CECIL
PHIL DIAMANT

JOE FINE
FLORENCE BACHRACH
ANITA KRIEGER
BARBARA BAER

MIMI SEGAL
GLADYS "WOOTZ" CANTOR
IDA MAZUR
BARBARA AVALON

Here too, a perspective for the coming semester was planned. The necessity for defeating HR 1776 was discussed. The necessity for building the ASU and activizing negro students took up most of the time.

I am now in charge of selling "Student Advocate" a national paper being put out by the ASU.

JOE FEIN who lives in Stamford, Conn., told us that he is going to Eastern Aeronautical School there.

Feb. 4th, 1941.

Attended Y. C. L. group meeting at Harold Bogrow's 164 E. 97th St. Those present were: BOGROW, DOLPH GREENBERG and FRANCES WILENSKY. This group consists of the people in the School of Education. The main problem here is the fate of the ASU in the school of ed. The administration is trying to oust it. They have given no reason so far but Frances Wilensky has learned from Mr. DOSSICK (School of Ed) and BOB ERVINE head of student council that the charges will be that the ASU is subversive and will hinder NYU graduates from obtaining jobs.

The YCL is trying to get control of the Negro Culture Foundation whose president NIDA EDWARDS is a YCL member and the PEACE COUNCIL. They get very little support in the School of Ed.

Feb. 5th, 1941.

ASU has table in cafeteria and collect funds for trip to Washington. Is selling the NY Student.

The plan a fight on the case of AL BERENBERG who applied for NYA but was refused because he is an ASU member—he is also a YCL member.

COUNCIL FOR STUDENT EQUALITY fought for a negro student who had been accused of cheating on an exam. He was given a reprimand and another exam. This campaign was kept quiet.

Old Names:

JOSEPHINE TIMMS	DICK CECIL	HAROLD BOGROW
LEONARD DETWIELDER	PHIL DIAMANT	DOLPH GREENBERG
(sic.)	JOE FINE	FRANCES WILENSKY
MAIA TURCHIN	FLORENCE BACKRACK (sic.)	NEGRO CULTURE FOUNDATION
JACK Mc MICHEAL (sic.)	ANITA KRIEGER	PEACE COUNCIL
RAFE SCOBEY	BARBARA BAER	NIDA EDWARDS
MIMI SEGAL	GLADYS CANTOR	
MERVYN JONES	IDA MAGAR	
BOB CLAIBORNE	BARBARA AVALON	

New Names:

CHARLES KLARE—Yorkville Youth Center
 MADISON JONES, NAACP.
 CHARLES COHEN alias CHARLES KINGSFORD

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked McMichael exhibit No. 13 which is a photostatic copy of Town Crier, a pamphlet of a meeting held in Washington, D. C., February 7 to February 9, 1941. This is a part of the American Youth Congress and the program has listed Jack McMichael, American Youth Congress chairman, speaking on Youth and the Nation.

I hand you this document and ask you whether you did speak at this meeting held in Washington, D. C., under the auspices of the American Youth Congress, the overall auspices.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What year is that, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. You have it in front of you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not see it here. Perhaps it is there.

Mr. KUNZIG. 1941.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The year does not seem to be in the document, at first glance.

Mr. Chairman, I have a fuller report which indicates that I led the group there in a creed which I would request the opportunity—a creed stating just what we stood for——

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question? Were you there?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was there and led the group in a creed which I would like to ask the opportunity to read into the record as an indication of what we stood for.

Mr. CLARDY. May I object to this? He has answered the question and that is all that is necessary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. A creed is a pretty important thing.

Mr. CLARDY. I have addressed the Chair and please remain silent while we are conducting the affairs of this hearing. He has answered it and this is mostly extraneous matter.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is not extraneous.

Mr. CLARDY. We are not talking to you.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair feels the witness should have the right to make a statement as long as it is not out of bounds.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It will not be out of bounds, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, if there has been anything in bounds, Mr. Chairman, I would like to find it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The creed is as follows: We dedicate ourselves to the service of our country and mankind. We will uphold the American ideal which is the democratic way of life. We will

help to assure bounty to all races, creeds and color. We will maintain our country founded by men and women who found a land where they could worship God in their own way as a haven of a free conscience and a free religious spirit. We will develop technical skills, natural resources and culture which has made our country the inspiration for the youth of all lands. We will use whatever talents we have to add to that heritage. We will be helping to forge new tools for an early enough education and from which to make a decent living, the opportunity for healthful recreation and culture and assure the fullest development in all. We will respect and defend the Constitution and the American liberties, which includes the freedom of religion and free speech and assemblage. We will seek always, only within the framework of the American system of government which is founded on the point that all political power is vested in the people and we will oppose all undemocratic tendencies in all forms. We will help make the United States a force for peace and peace will not be at the expense of all other peoples and nations but one that will contribute to the brotherhood of man. We will not permit race prejudice, religious intolerance, or class hatred to divide us from other young people. We will work for the unity of our brothers in the service of our country which we will defend against all enemies. The final sentence, we pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands, one Nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

That is what came out of that meeting.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair feels that the statement or the reading of the statement is entirely irrelevant to the question that was presented.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The nature of that meeting?

Mr. VELDE. However, we feel that you should have the opportunity to insert this in the record if you care to do so.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I would care to do so, as the official creed of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. JACKSON. May I look at that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. It is incredible that any Communist would subscribe to anything dealing with religion or God.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was not a Communist.

Mr. CLARDY. Any time you try to tell me that an atheistic Communist believes any of the stuff you read, you are playing with the wrong people. I wouldn't believe that from anybody.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you want to know what I believe, go to the people who listen to me preach every Sunday. Maybe you are not referring to me.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not talking to you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You called me here. It is not my choice at all.

Mr. VELDE. Let me say this, that if you make any further outbursts without any question propounded to you—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Could you ask him not to attack me?

Mr. VELDE (continuing). It will be necessary for me to order you removed from this hearing room. I would be reluctant to do that. I would not want to do that to any American citizen or anyone who

appears as a witness, but if you make further outbursts and do not respond to the questions——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have not failed to answer a question yet.

Mr. VELDE. Then we will have to remove you from this hearing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You do not have people always who try to give you information.

Mr. KUNZIG. I want to be sure that the record shows that the creed which was just read is the creed of a cited Communist front organization. Let the record be clear as to that.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make an observation, in view of the fact that other committee members are making observations? The chairman allowed this creed to go in. In view of that statement may I say that manifestly this exhibit that was produced is used for the purpose of identifying this witness as a member of a cited Communist organization. Now, therefore, it seems that in view of the use of that document for that purpose and if this witness is chairman of that meeting and he made a speech, whatever the speech was, that the text of that speech was highly important, especially in view of the fact that this witness has denied that he was a member of the Communist Party. So I compliment this chairman on allowing that to go in.

Mr. CLARDY. That was not his speech.

Mr. DOYLE. He spoke that out loud.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I led them in that and made them say that because those things were very important to me. I believed very deeply in those things I read there. They seemed to me important and to be in line with the democratic and Christian attitude, to both of which I am loyal.

Mr. CLARDY. It might be interesting to have his speech.

Mr. KUNZIG. Our next exhibit will give a little bit of that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If I had known what you wanted I would have tried to get all the documents and help I could, and in that respect I would like to request that the record be kept open so that I could give you fuller information as to all these questions. I might be able to find speeches and things of that kind that you might be interested in, and if I do not have the speech and can lay my hands on it, and everything I said was aboveboard and I will be glad to help fill out any loose ends because we are relying on memory of a long time back.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will decide in executive session whether you will be granted that request.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The request is there. I want to see if there is anything about the speech in this report of the meeting.

Mr. DOYLE. The chairman will recall that I stated I had made an official appointment which I must keep at 4 o'clock today. That is before this meeting was set, and I do not want my leaving to indicate that I am not interested, because I am, and I will hurry back as soon as possible.

Mr. VELDE. How soon can you be back?

Mr. DOYLE. About an hour or an hour and a half, I think.

Mr. VELDE. We do want the minority represented, and I do believe it would be in order to recess for 20 minutes to try to give the member from the minority an opportunity to be present.

The committee will be in recess.

(Whereupon, at 3:33, the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 4:02 p. m.)

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be in order. At the request of Mr. Velde, a subcommittee has been appointed consisting of the Messrs. Clardy, Moulder, Scherer, and Jackson as acting chairman. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I would like to offer in evidence the document we have been discussing as McMichael exhibit No. 13 in evidence.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be so received.

(February 7, 1941, issue of Town Crier, printed for the Town Meeting on Youth, held in Washington, D. C., containing program and articles thereon, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 13.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 13

(Part 1)



TOWN CRIER

ACTIVITIES GUIDE TO THE

TOWN MEETING OF YOUTH

WELCOME TO WASHINGTON

READ THIS BULLETIN NOW! KEEP IT FOR REFERENCE!

GREETINGS FROM WASHINGTON'S YOUTH

The Washington Youth Council is happy to welcome young people from every part of our country.

Those of you who have been in Washington before, know that hotels, restaurants, meeting halls and other public place here follow a Jim-Crow policy directed against the Negro people.

Investigation Results

People of Washington cannot but consider such practices disgraceful—all the more since the responsibility in our Capital rests squarely on the Federal administration.

Together with the National Staff of the A. Y. C. and with representatives of many local organizations, we have gone to the Congressional Committees in charge of the District, to the District Commissioners, and to Vice-President Wallace, to demand that government-owned facilities be opened to house delegates.

We are working for a civil rights law which would make it unlawful for business establishments to discriminate against any person because of his race or color.

INFORMATION

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But we know that during your stay in Washington you will be faced with many outrageous examples of Jim-Crowism. It is important that these be acted upon in an organized, effective fashion.

Special Committee

Therefore a Committee on Discrimination has been set up to function during the Town Meeting. Marie Reed, A. Y. C. Staff, will have a desk in the lobby of Turners Arena and there will receive all reports of discrimination. The Committee will consider these reports and propose appropriate action on them. Bring your reports to Miss Reed.

The Washington Youth Council and the Washington Negro Youth Federation pledge to continue and intensify its fight against Jim-Crow so that when another Town Meeting comes to Washington, real democracy will prevail.

THIS IS YOUR TOWN MEETING

This is a Town Meeting. You will hear many viewpoints expressed, and whether or not a particular point of view is one that you share, you will want to listen to it.

This is *your* Town Meeting. You will undoubtedly have something to say.

Each session will begin with a report from the platform. This will be followed by discussion. Any person may speak.

In order that the maximum number shall have an opportunity to address the Town Meeting, each speaker will be limited to *three* minutes.

How to Participate

If you want to speak, an usher will give you a card. Write in your name, organization, and the *specific* topic about which you wish to speak. The usher will bring your card to the chairman and you will be called to the platform to speak. Try not to repeat what

(Continued on Page 8, Col. 3)

Turn to
page 4

**FOR COMPLETE INSTRUCTIONS
ON SATURDAY'S PARADE**

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 13

(Part 2)

YOUR PARADE INSTRUCTIONS**Assembling**

At the close of the afternoon session on Saturday, February 8 all participants in the Town Meeting will assemble in organized fashion on the streets outside of Turner's Arena prior to marching in a gala parade to the Washington Monument. Assembly formation will be by platoon numbers **ONLY** — not by geographic or other groupings!

69

Your platoon number is _____

On the chart below you will find the approximate location of your platoon on the streets around Turner's Arena. When the session adjourns—go at once to the location of your platoon. Its exact location will be marked by a numbered sign. Remember your platoon number!

Marshals

Colored arm bands with the word "Marshal" distinguish the leaders of each platoon. Please cooperate by observing the directions of the marshal of your platoon. He will organize the formation of your platoon and the allotment of signs, placards, banners and stunt material.

Each platoon will consist of 48 people—12 rows, 4 in a row. On lining up participants should stand with both arms extended to keep proper spacing. As parade starts to move distance between lines should become 8 feet. Chief marshals at starting point will assist in this proper spacing. Please pay careful attention to their instructions as you pass starting point. Distance between platoons will be 30 feet.

Please follow the marshals in-

structions with regard to slogans and songs. They will lead you in shouting official slogans. To assist marshals please listen to instructions from the official sound trucks. They are the final word as to all last minute changes and adjustments. Sound trucks will give you marching rhythms for a smart looking parade style.

Route

All platoons will march from assembly point towards 14th Street. When they reach 14th Street they will turn right and march down 14th Street. At Thomas Circle there will be a half swing to the right and continue around the outer circle picking up 14th Street again on the far side. Proceed down 14th Street across Constitution Avenue. Take first right turn roadway past Constitution Avenue towards Washington Monument. Continue up and around monument, then left turn towards Sylvan Theatre. In front of natural platform at Sylvan Theatre all marchers will assemble to hear speakers at open air meeting.

Clothing

Because it is likely to be cold during the parade and during the outdoor meeting all Town Meeting participants are urged to wear heavy clothing — especially warm socks and sweaters and gloves.

Placards

If you are assigned to carry a banner or placard by the marshal please cooperate with the parade committee by following his instructions. Banners and placards should be carried as high as possible throughout the duration of the

parade. At Sylvan Theatre—those carrying cloth streamers should bring them to the dirt stage and deposit them upright at the stage rear to form a background. Those carrying placards should deposit them in the truck which will be available to make proper disposition of them. Please **DO NOT LEAVE SIGNS AROUND THE MONUMENT OR PARK GROUNDS.**

Torches and Flares

If the marshal requests you to carry a torch flare—please do so and assume a special responsibility. The flares are perfectly legal and safe but for maximum effect they require special handling. They burn for 15 minutes and they should be burning mainly when the parade passes through the busy part of Washington. Therefore—you will not light the torches yourself. As the parade passes Thomas Circle there will be special marshals with lights equipped to ignite your torch. All torch-bearers must march on the outside of the platoons—not inside! Nor separate from the platoons—but part of them. Torch bearers will not carry any other signs or placards! Torches should be held high and clear of all other marchers and all signs and placards so as to prevent them from catching fire. When torches burn out they should not be thrown on the street but carried to Sylvan Theatre and dumped on the disposal truck.

Reminder

Memorize Your Platoon number!
Spot your platoon location on the chart below!
Go to your platoon rapidly when the session ends!
Obey your marshals implicitly!

LOCATION CHART FOR PLATOONS

Platoons 1 Through 18—W Street Between 14th & 15th Streets
Platoons 19 Through 28—15th Street Between V & W Streets
Platoons 29 Through 36—15th Street Between U & V Streets
Platoons 37 Through 54—V Street Between 14th & 15th Streets
Platoons 55 Through 60—Porter Place Between U & V Streets
Platoons Above No. 60—W Street Between 15th & 16th Streets

(NOTE: Reach Porter Place by Walking Along V Street
Halfway Towards 15th Street)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 13

(Part 3)

PROGRAM

FOR TOWN MEETING OF YOUTH

ALL SESSIONS AT TURNER'S ARENA

Friday, February 7

ALL DAY—Visits to Congress

8:00 P. M.—OPEN HEARING ON H. R. 1776

(Invitation of Washington Youth Council)

Saturday, February 8

9:00 A. M.—OPENING

"Youth and the Nation," Jack McMichael, AYC Chairman

10:00 A. M.—YOUTH AS CITIZENS

Co-Chairmen Harriet Pickens, National Business and Professional Girls Council, Y. W. C. A.
Jean Horie, New York Youth CongressReporters Leonard Detweiler, National Intercollegiate Christian Council
Esther Cooper, Southern Negro Youth Congress

1:30 P. M.—YOUTH AT WORK

Co-Chairmen Tom Perry, Association of Medical Students
Leonard Troutman, Detroit Youth Assembly

Reporter Roy Lancaster, Youth Director, Labor's Non-Partisan League

4:00 P. M.—PARADE

Ending at Washington Monument
Address by Congressman Vito Marcantonio

8:30 P. M.—SPECIAL MEETINGS

Student—Asbury Methodist Episcopal Church, 11th and K Streets, N. W.
Trade Union—Metropolitan Baptist Church, 1225 R Street, N. W.
Farm—United Federal Workers of America, 532 17th Street, N. W.
Health—Phyllis Wheatley Y. W. C. A., 901 Rhode Island Avenue, N. W.*Sunday, February 9*

9:30 A. M.—INTERFAITH SERVICE

Rev. William B. Spofford

10:30 A. M.—RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY

Chairman Maxine McKinley, National Intercollegiate Christian Council
Reporter J. Carrell Morris, Christian Youth Council of North America

11:00 A. M.—YOU'RE IN THE ARMY NOW

Co-Chairmen Ruth Shields, National Intercollegiate Christian Council
Reporters, Della Davis, National Industrial Girls' Council, Y. W. C. A.
Charles Shinn, Flint Youth Council

2:00 P. M.—KEEPING AMERICA OUT OF WAR

Co-Chairmen Jack McMichael
Helen Wheeler, California Youth Legislature

VISIT CONGRESS

You have been asked to make appointments in advance with Senators and Representatives. You will be anxious to visit Congress on Friday and on Monday, so that each Congressman will have the opportunity of meeting a young person from his District or his State and discussing the problems which face youth in that community.

If appointments have not been made in advance, you should telephone upon arrival in Washington. If a definite appointment is not possible, go directly to the Capitol.

Each Senator has an office in the Senate Office Building, near the Capitol. If the Senate is in session, you can go directly to the Senate floor and send in your card to your Senator, asking for a word with him.

The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations meets in Room 318, Senate Office Building.

Representatives have their offices in the Old and New House Office Buildings near the Capitol. They also may be called off the floor, if the House is in session and you do not find your Representative in his office.

Guards in all buildings will give you the room numbers of Congressmen and direct you to the offices.

A member of the National Staff will be stationed at "Registration"—John Wesley Church. Leaders of delegations should consult with this Staff member on arrival about any special problems. Other members of the National Staff will be at the Capitol during Friday and Monday. Their exact whereabouts can be determined by telephoning RE. 2584.

Many of you will want to visit Agencies to discuss special problems affecting your community. These agencies are open from 9 a. m. to 4:30 p. m.:

National Youth Administration, 2145 C Street, N. W.

U. S. Office of Education, Interior Building, 18th and C Streets, N. W.
State Department, 17th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.

Consult Telephone Directory for others.

Visits to Congressmen and to Offi-

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 2)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 13

(Part 4)

PROGRAM Continued

Reporter Frances Williams, Administrative
Secretary, AYC

Symposium

5:00 P. M.—WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Chairman Jack McMichael, AYC
Reports Joseph Curran, President, National
Maritime Union; Vice President C. I. O.
Joseph Cadden, AYC

TOWN MEETING SONGS

Song Leaders: Peter Seeger and Lee Hayes

WHY DO YOU STAND THERE
IN THE RAIN?

Just about a year ago
When we had our rainy show
The President addressed us on the lawn.
"Opportunity" he said, "is very far from
dead."
But when we look for jobs they're dead
and gone.

Chorus

Why did we stand there in the rain?
Why were we standing in the rain?
Those were strange carryings on
On the White House Capital lawn
Tell me why did we stand there in the
rain?

Invasion from the air
Is the latest danger near
So we crane our necks and look across
the foam.
But there's really naught to fear
Our problem's over here
Democracy's invaded right at home.

Chorus

From the White House to the Hill
Has gone the lend lease bill
To make our land a war dictatorship.
Instead of aiding Britain
Let's attend to our own knittin'
We don't want an A. E. F. to make a trip.

Chorus

It's time you knew the facts
About the South's poll tax
And the strange fruit hanging from a
lynching tree.
Where once they hounded Lizas
Now it's labor's organizers
We can't exist half slave and one half
free.

Chorus

Dictators are the champs
At building labor camps
And money names are not much of dis-
guise.
Any slave battalion force
Is a U. S. trojan horse
It's against these things the youth must
organize.

THERE IS MEAN THINGS HAPPENING
IN THIS LAND

There is mean things happening in this
land
There is mean things happening in this
land
Oh they're trying hard to spike
The workers' right to strike
There is mean things happening in this
land

(On verse A. and B. repeat lines 1, 2
and 5, and substitute refrain lines
3 and 4)

Refrains

A. Oh the worker goes in rags
While the rich man boasts and brags.
B. Oh they're beating big war drums
While the people live in alums.

There'll be good things happening in this
land
There'll be good things happening in this
land
When the workmen refuse
To put on their old war shoes
There'll be good things happening in this
land

(On verse C. and D. repeat lines 1, 2 and
5, and substitute refrain lines 3 and
4)

C. When we all begin to sing
This Time Let God Save the King
D. When Conscription gets repeal
And the Youth Act becomes real.

TOWN MEETING

(Continued from Page 2, Col. 3)

other people have already said.
We want to get as many opinions,
experiences and suggestions as
possible out of this Town Meeting.

The Town Meeting is a forum—
not a policy-making body. There-
fore there will be no resolutions
proposed or voted on.

Tune:

JOHNNY WANTS A JOB NOT A GUN!

Johnny wants a job, not a war
Johnny knows just what life is for.
Just a while ago
Roosevelt on the radio
Said that Johnny would have dough
Not a war!
Battle cries are starting to roar
Plans for sending Johnny to war.
But Johnny's standing firm
And in no uncertain terms
He's demanding a job
Not a war!

Johnny wants a job, not a war
Life for him has so much in store.
Johnny wants to live
For he has so much to give
But Johnny cannot live
In a war.
Johnny is now just twenty-four
Johnny wants his life and what's more
Johnny wants a wife
And some kids to fill his life
That's why Johnny wants a job
Not a war.

Tune: LI'L LIZA JANE

Heard a speech by a Congressman
Li'l Liza Jane
He don't like the union man
Li'l Liza Jane. Oh Li'l Liza
Li'l Liza Jane. Oh Li'l Liza
Li'l Liza Jane

Said in Congress yesterday
Li'l Liza Jane
Take the right to strike away.
(Repeat: Chorus)

President said to the labor board
Li'l Liza Jane
Don't be so hard on Mr. Ford
(Repeat: Chorus)

Said that labor camps are fine
Li'l Liza Jane
To make the young folks toe the line
Li'l Liza Jane
(Repeat: Chorus)

Oh we go on strike and the President
cries
Li'l Liza Jane
Here's a case for Mr. Dies
(Repeat: Chorus)

VISIT CONGRESS

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 3)

cials in Agencies should be carried
out in a well-organized fashion. In
order to make the best impression,
be certain to keep the discussion
on the subject you are interested
in and have a written statement on
the subject to leave.

Be specific about all questions,
particularly when making requests.
Remember that an intelligent and
orderly presentation of your case is
the most convincing.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 14" for identification which refers to a meeting, and the headline of the article is Youth Congress Raps Warmongers in Rally at Turner Arena.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, there was a question pending.

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Didn't Mr. Doyle ask a question?

Mr. JACKSON. There is no question pending.

Mr. KUNZIG. It is a photostatic copy of a newspaper dated February 8, 1941, covering this town meeting of the Youth Congress held in Washington, February 7-9, 1941, containing a speech by Jack McMichael, chairman of the Youth Congress, and his attack centered on the lend-lease bill to aid Britain.

The speech goes on to say: "What Congress does with this bill tomorrow, Monday, and Tuesday will decide whether some people will live normal creative lives or die in Europe's slaughter."

I pass this document to you and ask you whether you made that speech to that effect as so stated in the exhibit.

Reverend McMICHAEL. While I am looking for that, I think the record would show that Mr. Doyle, who is not here to speak for himself, did ask that I read into the speech that I made, and I have found it.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be glad to receive this speech and give it consideration for inclusion in the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am looking for that. I have a copy of the speech itself.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the question is, Were you present on this occasion? Is that correct?

Mr. KUNZIG. I think I asked whether he was present and whether he did give the speech, as reported in the Washington newspaper, the [Washington] Star.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, but not as reported in the Star, necessarily. Sometimes things are misreported.

Mr. JACKSON. The question is, Were you present on this occasion?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, yes, I was there. I have the speech I made there.

Mr. JACKSON. You did make a speech?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and Mr. Doyle is not here, and he asked for me to read it.

Mr. JACKSON. The committee will be glad to accept it and consider it. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you give that back, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think the newspaper item is a distortion of the speech on that particular occasion in that particular instance.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence this exhibit as McMichael exhibit No. 14, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be so received.

(Newspaper article, Youth Congress Raps "Warmongers" in Rally at Turner Arena, February 1941, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 14.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 14

(Washington Star, February 8, 1941)

YOUTH CONGRESS RAPS "WARMONGERS" IN RALLY AT TURNER ARENA

Speaker Assails Roosevelt and Lindbergh; Parade Is Planned Today

Joe Turner's boxing arena vibrated last night and again this morning with shouts, applause, wisecracks and hisses from 3,000 members of the American Youth Congress assembled to fight a personal battle against "Wall Street and President Roosevelt trying to drag us into war."

Carrying their battle to the public, they were scheduled to parade from the fight auditorium down Fourteenth Street to the Washington Monument at 4 p. m. today, bearing banners and flaring torches. Their favorite Congress member, Representative Marcantonio, American Labor Party member from New York City, was chosen to speak there.

Attack centered on the lease-lend bill to aid Britain, under leadership of 23-year-old Jack McMichael, chairman of the Youth Congress, who declared that "what Congress does with this bill tomorrow, Monday and Tuesday, will decide whether young people will lead normal creative lives or die in Europe's slaughter."

Col. Lindbergh Criticized

The tall, blond-haired young Georgian said he thought a boxing ring was an appropriate spot in which to speak. He took verbal jabs at President Roosevelt for asking "dictatorial powers" under which he could "issue rules and regulations to stop all further opposition to his policies." Engaging other opponents, he criticized Col. Charles A. Lindbergh for attempting to represent opposition to the bill, while Youth Congress spokesmen "are denied a hearing."

"We hold no brief for Hitler and don't go around wearing medals from Hitler," he shouted to an enthusiastic audience.

He scored the "inconsistency" of Chairman George of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in having previously opposed "embargoing shipments to Japan and giving China real aid," while supporting aid to Britain. His comments about Representative Dies of Texas evoked hisses for the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

Having been denied use of the Inter-Departmental Auditorium where they met last year, largely because Mrs. Roosevelt was unwilling to sponsor the organization this year, the young men and women made the most of their informal meeting place.

"Hearings" Conducted

They conducted last night's session as a "hearing" before the Senate and House Foreign Affairs Committees and reserved empty chairs on the boxing ring platform for committee members, who were invited but did not attend.

At one point proceedings paused for an imaginary speech by an imaginary Congress member. The packed arena was silent for a few minutes, then boos were heard and there chortled cries of "Throw him out."

The night's proceedings heard denunciations of the following persons: Wendell L. Willkie. In a speech which brought delegates to their feet cheering, Michael J. Quill, president of the Transport Workers' Union (C. I. O.) declared that "Mr. Willkie is spreading piffle all over Europe as Mr. Roosevelt is spreading twaddle all over the United States."

Two prominent diplomats. Denounced by John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress, as "members of the firm of Bullitt, Biddle and Bunk."

Churchill's War Aims Assailed

Winston Churchill. Described by Frederick Field, executive secretary of the American Peace Mobilization as having war aims of an imperialistic nature, contrary to aims of the British and American people. Mr. Field proposed a peace guaranteeing freedom for colonies all over the world, no annexations, no indemnities and sweeping domestic reforms.

Gene Tunney, who leads a youth organization hostile to the Youth Congress. Characterized by Mr. Quill as "speaking for two and a half dozen youths of Rockefeller Center, New York."

Those who are trying to "break our friendly relations with the great nation remaining at peace in Europe, Soviet Russia." Denounced by Mr. Davis, who told reporters he referred particularly to Representative Tinkham, Republican, of Massachusetts.

Secretary of State Hull. Attack by Mr. Davis for "contending that aid to Britain is required by the pact of Paris."

Witnesses Called "Stuffed Shirts"

The bulk of men and women who have testified before congressional committees on the lease-lend bill. Termed "triple-star stuffed shirts" by Herbert Witt, executive secretary of the American Student Union, who acted as master of ceremonies.

Last night's session opened with a phonograph record of "God Bless America" played over an amplifying system, and singing of the National anthem, in a hall decorated with American flags and bunting.

The Congress will continue through tomorrow, opening with an interfaith religious service at 9:30 a. m. and closing at 6 p. m. with addresses by Reid Robinson, vice president of the C. I. O., and Joseph Cadden, executive secretary of the Youth Congress. At 11 a. m. there will be discussion of the welfare and rights of selective service recruits, and at 2 p. m. a report on "Keeping America Out of War."

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked McMichael Exhibit Number 15, a copy of the Review dated March 3, 1941, carrying an article covering this town meeting and it has in it:

Says Youth: For a secure, constructive future, young people need jobs, they also need education. The American Youth Commission points out that more than one million American children are denied the chance to attend elementary school, more than one-half of America's out-of-school youth never finished the ninth grade and more than three million American citizens have passed from youth to adulthood without knowing how to read or write their own names. Today the supposed leaders of this nation ignore this need of American youth and American democracy for more universal and more democratic education by adopting unprecedented peace-time conscription, taking us away from our schools as well as from our jobs.

JACK McMICHAEL, A. Y. C., *Chairman.*

I hand you this document, McMichael Exhibit Number 15, and ask you whether that is a correct statement of the viewpoint that you expressed at that time.

Mr. JACKSON. Was this a meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, this was a meeting and there is a record of my speech there which would cover all my points, but if you want to know whether the speech is reported accurately, I would have to check it. I have the speech.

Mr. JACKSON. Were you present or not? That is the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think this question had been answered 2 or 3 times already.

Mr. JACKSON. Does this deal with the same matter?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; same matter, same meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you speak at that time violently against conscription?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I did not speak violently at all about it, but I was against conscription as far as that goes and so was the organization, the National Student Young Men's Christian Association and practically all the people, the churches have been against that peacetime conscription.

Mr. JACKSON. Is your question answered?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes. I offer this document in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 15.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be received.

(March 3, 1941, issued of the Young Communist Review, article, Town Meeting Stuns Jingoos: Labor, Youth March for Peace, pp. 2, 8, 9, and 15, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 15.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 15

(Young Communist Review, March 3, 1941, pp. 2, 8, 9, and 15)

TOWN MEETING STUNS JINGOOS; LABOR, YOUTH MARCH FOR PEACE

(By Mickey Milton)

Youth came of age that Town Meeting night of February 8 when 6,000 young men and women from America's factories and farms and schools marched through the streets of Washington. Down through the center of the Capital they swung, broad files two miles long, the hundreds of torches flaring in the twilight, the band playing, banners and young voices shouting the slogans of the American people: Don't Lend or Lease Our Lives! Don't Let 'Em Spike the Right to Strike! Old Jim Crow Has Gotta Go!

Through the red and grey shacks that sag on the Negro side of town, past the new granite and marble monuments to "National Defense," way down along the sidewalks abuzz with government workers who had never seen anything but military and inaugural parades on Pennsylvania Avenue before, to the foot of the Washington Monument and swelling out there in a great singing semicircle, waiting for their one voice on Capitol Hill, Vito Marcantonio.

Different This Year!

There had been a great meeting like this in Washington last year, with the American Youth Congress its sponsor and thousands of young people taking part. But with a difference! A difference that measures the giant steps forward progressive youth have taken in this time of crisis.

Last year they met in the Labor Department auditorium and were housed and fed with the aid of the administration. Last year the President spoke to them, and Mrs. Roosevelt and Aubrey Williams, NYA administrator, and John Hamilton of the Republican Party and John L. Lewis of the CIO.

This year they came together in Turner's Arena and fought Jim Crow discrimination in rooming houses and restaurants every day. This year Mr. and Mrs. FDR sat at home and sent FBI-men to represent them. This year it was the rank and file of America's labor movement that pounded the nuke in the center of the prize ring with powerful speeches against HR 1776 and the Hitler program the warlords have built around it.

No, this year the Youth Congress was not just a prize with Democrats and Republicans and labor wrestling with each other for it. If you were in Washington that weekend you saw how solid now the ranks of youth are—united with labor against the fascist program of an Administration owned lock, stock and barrel by the moneybags.

Congress's "Joke"

And the reason for this new and decisive unity was plain in the hundreds of experiences that poured hotly through the amplifiers from the boys and girls who plant the Arkansas cotton, pour the Pittsburgh steel, weld the Detroit autos, file the Hartford insurance claims and study the California airplane blue prints.

That first afternoon in Washington many of them had knocked vainly at the doors of their Representatives and Senators to tell them what the folks back home thought of the War Powers bill. Others had squeezed into the packed gallery of the House and watched in angry amazement the handful of Congressmen making a bitter joke of the democratic process while playfully tossing HR 1776 back and fourth between the Republican and the Democratic side of the chamber.

From the hill they came miles out to the edge of town where the dingy fight arena squats amidst some of Washington's choicest slums. One after the other the leaders of the people's organizations who had been booted away from House and Senate committee rooms came out into the center of the ring to speak their part in this open hearing on 1776, White House version. There was tall, blonde Jack McMichael, leader of the Youth Congress, and Frederick Field, head of the

American People's Mobilization. Then John P. Davis, of the National Negro Congress, in a ringing indictment of a "defense of democracy" that lynchcs and segregates a tenth of the people, the Negroes of America. And Mike Quill with a roaring, standing welcome to this militant leader of the Transport Workers. And at the end, that fighter for civil liberties, the Reverend Owen Knox.

Defeat H. R. 1776!

You couldn't hear a speech those next two days that didn't lace into the Lend-Lease Bill. From the trade unions and the student organizations and the neighborhood councils they came, to tell what was happening back home. It was those dozens of swift speeches that gave the answer to the question Jack McMichael had put in his opening report to the Town Meeting. "Evidently there has been a change in program," he had said, speaking of the absence of the big shots this year. "Who has done the changing," he asked, "the rank and file young people of America or the national administration?"

Joe and Jane America spoke of their fight last year to stop conscription, their watchful defense against all attempts to put over forced labor camps, their outcries against higher price for everyday groceries, their campaigns to resist the inquisitions of Rapp-Coudert committees from New York to California. And always and everywhere the fight to defeat H. R. 1776.

So who had done the changing? That was an easy one to answer, listening to those voices. Behind all of these attacks upon the people's peace and living standards and freedom has been the Washington administration, and pulling its strings right out where anyone could see it—the bankers and manufacturers who've been running America these many years.

Who Has Changed?

There was something else about those speeches that explains the fast-growing unity of progressive youth. Lots of them called this war an imperialist war, and they showed how you couldn't separate the fight of the British and German bankers over sources of profits, and the J. P. Morgans' part in that war, with what's going on right here at home. America's undeclared entrance into the war and the blitzkrieg on wages, the right to organize and our civil liberties are all part of the same process.

When Lin Liang-Mo of China and S. Chandra Sekhar of India got through describing Roosevelt's attempts to break the unity of China in its struggle against the Japanese invaders and Lord Halifax's slaughter and imprisonment of thousands of the Indian people there was little doubt left as to just what kind of war such noble "democrats" could fight. And even that doubt must have been cleared up by the words of the fraternal messengers from the people's movements of Haiti, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. (See p. 7 this issue.)

These Town Meeters weren't kidding about not liking Jim Crow either. On Sunday afternoon hundreds of them grabbed up "Jim Crow Has Gotta Go" placards and rushed down to the Palace Lunch and the ritzy Willard Hotel to make their walls ring with the militant slogans of great picket lines. Friday a delegation had visited US Army Chief of Staff Marshall and listened to his shocking anti-Negro line in answer to their presentation of the many examples of Jim Crow in the armed forces. On Monday, another delegation got the same smug answers from Secretary of War Stimson to a picketline thrown around the War Department building.

Jim Crow's Gotta Go!

Those demonstrations of youth's bold determination to get rid of this blot upon the American nation were further signs of the complete break between the Youth Congress and Papa and Mama Roosevelt. Before the Town Meeting had opened Mrs. FDR had trumpeted that her disagreement with the AYC stemmed from the issue of foreign policy. But her open statement to the press of unconcern for the problems of Negro delegates and her now widely known declaration of belief in the virtues of forced labor camps for youth, proved that she and not progressive youth has been doing all the flipflops in policy this year.

Although her royal highness did not appear herself, her lackeys were there in full force to make their master's voice heard. Joseph Lash, the one-time student leader now recruited at \$4,000 per year by the opposition to do their dirty jobs, was on the spot to make a few "all-out-for-Britain" speeches. Having had proved to him in many youth conferences lately (as though he needed proof)

that British imperialism is not exactly a democratic heaven, the only weapon left him is red-baiting. That business didn't get Eleanor's pal Joey to first base.

Johnny Gates Speaks

The very next speaker, Ed Strong, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, blasted Lash out of the ring. "It is the people of England who are fighting this war," said Strong, "but it is also the people of Germany and Italy. Lash forgot to mention this, and to add that it is the imperialist governments of all these countries that are running the war. American youth do not want to help fight an imperialist war. Together with the People's Convention of England, they want to end this war with a people's peace."

Leaders of young women's organizations, of Negro, church, Jewish, student, fraternal, labor, Y and youth councils added their voices to Strong's. Later that afternoon John Gates spoke for the Young Communist League, pointing out that:

"We in America have a great lesson to learn from the Soviet Union's having remained at peace so long. It is because in the Soviet Union capitalism has been abolished and they are no longer ruled by the international bankers who make wars. Capitalism has been eliminated and Socialism, the true brotherhood of man, established."

It was in that direction, towards the basic solution of youth's problems, that Johnny Gates pointed. It is a way that more and more of America's young progressives are beginning to seek, and it stands in monumental contrast to the "fruit-basket" program of the long-count champ, Gene Tunney, that was proposed by Tunney's Republican knee-pants stooges at the Town Meeting, Murray Plavner delivered a basket of fruit at the White House, and it got nothing but a belly-laugh from the young delegates.

Labor Joins Youth

Youth saw who Roosevelt's buddies are among American youth: a handful of bought-up phonies who got tired of playing Socialist. But they also saw something even more important—who their own, who youth's friends, are. Labor—the best, the strongest, the truest fighters for the people's needs.

Never before at any youth gathering had there been so many young trade unionists. From the newest members of the rank and file to the older tested leaders of organized labor they were there; giving America's progressive youth movement the iron backbone that it needed. When Tom Foley of the Harvester strike committee spoke and Ed Taylor, too, of the Ford organizing staff, you could hear in the terrific roar of welcome and the many-minutes chant of "Organize Harvester!" "Organize Ford!" the great sound of future victories that youth will win.

"Youth knows," said Roy Lancaster, Youth Director of Labor's Non-Partisan League, "that the progressive labor movement is today its staunchest ally in the fight for youth rights, for jobs, for peace, and civil liberties. And labor knows that unless youth has decent jobs, higher wages, is organized into unions, that the low standards under which youth is working will be used to undermine and undercut standards of work and wages won by labor through long a struggle."

It was that speech, especially, and the presence of so many unionists that showed the reason for youth and labor unity and it was the size and the program of the meeting itself that proved the power of that unity.

To Help Conscripts

Throughout the Town Meeting's sessions there was discussion of many problems in which youth and labor are both deeply concerned. From Flint's CIO Youth Council came Charles Shinn to tell of the treatment given conscripts in the army camps and to outline the people's program for the welfare of the conscripts based upon the Youth Congress's publicized seven points. Roy Lancaster showed how the Administration's "job-training" program is being used as a wage-cutting, strike-breaking, union-smashing threat to organized labor and called for the passage of the American Youth Act as the way to a real job-training program.

These are but a few highlights of a history-making youth meeting. The lessons youth learned down in Washington and that they will bring back home to their organizations will reinvigorate the fight of the American people to get out of this imperialist war and to build a solid democracy on our own ground. The

thousands who saw the capital police forcibly prevent Jack McMichael from speaking for them to the Senate committee will not soon forget. Young America is learning the meaning of a capitalist society rushing madly downwards into war and fascism. And in these times when youth are uniting their strength with the people's organizations everywhere, they are learning what such powerful solidarity will one day do for them.

YOUTH VERSUS WARMAKERS

When 6,000 representatives of the nation's youth assembled at their town meeting in Washington, they let the country know what youth wants. They didn't ask for a handout. They came to defend the peace, security and democracy of America. They demanded jobs for youth: they demanded a job-training program which would not create a huge scab labor force, but workers for American peace-time jobs as provided in the American Youth Act. They demanded protection of the right of the conscripts: guarantees that they would get back their jobs in industry, better pay and maintain their civil rights. Above all, America's youth protested against the War-Dictatorship Bill. They demanded that America GET OUT AND STAY OUT OF THE WAR. Below is the record of what youth wants and what the warmakers seek to impose on the people.

Says youth:

For a secure, constructive future young people need jobs, they also need education. The American Youth Commission points out that more than one million American children are denied the chance to attend elementary school, more than one-half of America's out-of-school youth never finished the 9th grade, and more than 3 million American citizens have passed from youth to adulthood without knowing how to read or write their own names. Today the supposed leaders of this nation ignore this need of American youth and American democracy for more universal and more democratic education by adopting unprecedented peace-time conscription taking us away from our schools as well as from our jobs.—Jack McMichael, AYC chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a photostatic copy of a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 16" from the Times Herald, Washington, D. C., dated Saturday, February 8, 1941, showing an article, Yanks Aren't Coming, 4,000 Youths Shout.

Then the article goes on to say:

Jack McMichael, divinity student from Georgia and the AYC Chairman, opened the morning session with a reading of the youth creed in which the delegates dedicated themselves to the service of our country and mankind and to the maintenance of America as a haven of a free conscience and the freedom of religious spirit.

The crowd, larger than that in attendance at any previous Youth Congress gathered here, stopped McMichael's speech with applause when he shouted that Europe should be told that the "Yanks are not coming."

Gusts of derisive laughter came when McMichael sarcastically referred to "those in high places who wishfully think the Youth Congress is deflated."

I hand you document McMichael exhibit No. 16.

Mr. SCHERER. What is the date of that?

Mr. KUNZIG. February 8, 1941.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is the same meeting. What is the question, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is whether the account therein so written is an accurate account of what took place at the meeting and whether you took the viewpoint, "the Yanks are not coming."

Reverend McMICHAEL. Referring to this document, because it is new to me, the document does demonstrate the validity, at least corroborates the statement, that I led the meeting in that creed. That is what I read into the record a while ago, that creed, and it quotes the section of "to the service of our country and mankind" and to the

maintenance of America as a "haven of a free conscience and the freedom of religious spirit."

I certainly did that. I certainly attended the meeting.

Mr. JACKSON. Are the other statements attributed to you, in substance, true or false?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That will be within the framework of the speech. The reference to shouting and all that, I don't think that is true because I do not believe I did any shouting.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence this document as McMichael exhibit No. 16.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be so received.

(Saturday, February 8, 1941, Washington Times Herald, article entitled, "Yanks Aren't Coming, 4,000 Youths Shout," received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 16.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 16

(Town Meeting of Youth, leaflet published by American Youth Congress, containing on p. 9 a reprint of an article from Times Herald, February 8, 1941)

YANKS AREN'T COMING, 4,000 YOUTHS SHOUT

Won't let Roosevelt "Pull a Wilson," Congress Head Says, by Una Franklin

Four thousand delegates to the American Youth Congress today answered with ear-splitting cheers a statement from their chair that "Roosevelt can't pull a Wilson on us."

"Service of Our Country"

Jack McMichael, divinity student from Georgia and the A. Y. C. chairman, opened the morning session with a reading of the Youth Creed in which the delegates dedicated themselves "to the service of our country and mankind," and to the maintenance of America as a "haven of a free conscience and the freedom of religious spirit."

The crowd, larger than that in attendance at any previous Youth Congress gathering here, stopped McMichael's speech with applause when he shouted that Europe should be told the "Yanks are not coming."

Gusts of derisive laughter came when McMichael sarcastically referred to "those in high places who wishfully think the Youth Congress is deflated."

Halifax's name was booed when McMichael referred to him as having been responsible for the imprisonment of 47,000 Indians when he was viceroy of India. Democracy has come to a fine pass, he said, when "Wall Street Willkie represents us in London, and Halifax, that same old friend of Hitler's, represents England here."

Mr. MOULDER. Do I understand you to say that you have a copy of the speech you delivered?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. May I see that copy of the speech.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I think it will be a part of the record.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, time moves on and as we all know Germany attacked Russia. When Russia was attacked an awful lot of people did an awful lot of jumping, particularly those following the Communist line.

I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 17" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of October 17, 1941, page 4, in which there is an article covering a mass rally at Manhattan Center in New York City on October 15, 1941. The Reverend Jack McMichael was a speaker. The headline states "We can't wait." Down further in the article it states that Vito Marcantonio told the cheering audience "We are now facing the Civil War of 1861 on an international scale. Today, the Battle of Moscow, for us, must become the Battle of Gettysburg."

Now they were all for fighting. Everyone should get behind and start fighting, and that was the argument of Reverend McMichael.

I should like to ask you why suddenly your viewpoint after all this peace and fighting for peace shifted as did the Communist line?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, the answer to that is that my viewpoint did not shift, that I led the fight in the Youth Congress in 1941 against intervention and that I remained against intervention and that it is the policy of the Youth Congress to be against intervention. That is the national organization that I chaired until Pearl Harbor and I want to see whether or not they quoted me as having said anything in favor of intervention. It will take me a moment to read it because the Daily Worker is not my daily reading at all and I just want to see what it says.

Mr. Chairman, in answer to the question, from a hasty glance at this Daily Worker article it is obvious that the Daily Worker has completely failed to represent me here at all. All of these quotes that Mr. Kunzig was reading were from Mr. Marcantonio and my position was against intervention.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, your position has been made clear with respect to the exhibit.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That certainly misrepresents me. I was against it until Pearl Harbor.

Mr. JACKSON. The witness has stated that he was against intervention.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this document as McMichael exhibit No. 17, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be accepted.

(Daily Worker, October 17, 1941, article, Youth Rally Cheers Call: "We Can't Wait," was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 17.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 17

(Daily Worker, New York, Friday, October 17, 1941)

YOUTH RALLY CHEERS CALL: "WE CAN'T WAIT"

Marcantonio Demands U. S. Act; 5,000 ask Neutrality Repeal

The immediate opening of a Western Front against Hitler, as well as all-out aid to Britain, the Soviet Union and China were called for in a mass youth rally Wednesday night in Manhattan Center, Eighth Avenue and 34th Street.

Almost 5,000 young people at the rally, which was under the auspices of the New York Youth Congress formally pledged "my strength, skill, energy and my life, if need be, to the defense of my country in the common struggle of mankind to end the threat of Hitler and Hitlerism in every form."

Congressman Vito Marcantonio, the chief speaker, told the cheering audience: "We are now facing the Civil War (sic.) of 1861 on an international scale. Today, the Battle of Moscow, for us, must become the Battle of Gettysburg."

He continued: "The conquest of Madrid meant Munich. The conquest of Moscow would mean worse than Munich—it would mean our backs to the wall, fighting a power that had conquered the rest of the world."

"WE MEAN SHOOTING. . ."

"By defending our country today," he said, "we mean rushing arms, tanks, planes to the countries fighting Hitler. Yes, and we mean shooting out of the sea everybody who tries to interfere with this aid. Yes, and we mean repeal of the entire Neutrality Act."

He went on, "But we mean something more than that." And then, in a powerful climax, Congressman Marcantonio shouted: "I know that this war is a war of defense, that it is our war, and we must participate in the establishment of a Western Front at once! We can't wait for the conquest of the Soviet Union! We can't wait for an England which becomes subject if not allied to Hitler! We can't

wait for a Nazi-dominated Japan! If we wait for these, we shall have to fight alone!"

A radiogram of greeting from the Anti-Fascist Youth Meeting in Moscow, signed by its chairman, Hero of the Soviet Union Evgeny Fedorov, which was read from the platform, stated: "Soviet people and its young generation, arms in hand, are destroying the Nazi cannibals. Joint action of Soviet, British, and American youth against blood-thirsty fascism brings nearer the day when freedom-loving peoples of the whole world will vanquish fascism."

Answer Moscow Cable

The youth rally adopted an answering cable to the youth of Moscow, which read in part: "We pledge that we will not rest until the Nazi barbarians are wiped from the earth forever."

Other messages adopted at the meeting included one of support addressed to United Youth for Defense, a greeting to Joe Louis, a pledge of support to the International Youth Rally in London, and a telegram sent collect to Charles A. Lindbergh informing him: "You will find no support for your fascist program among the young men and women of America."

Speakers at the rally included John Darr, of the National Collegiate Christian Council; Agnes Kessler, YWCA national staff; Halina Chybowska, Polish youth leader; Madison Jones, youth secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Evelyn Shields, of the national staff of the American Women's Voluntary Services; Arthur Osman, president of Local 65, United Wholesale and Warehouse Employees, CIO; Jack McMichael, national president of the American Youth Congress; and Jean Horie, executive secretary of the New York Youth Congress. Thomas Jones, chairman of the New York Youth Congress, acted as chairman.

Entertainment furnished by the American Youth Theatre included the singing of "I've Got Those Red, White and Blues" by John Fleming, young Negro baritone and the presentation of an "Appeasement Strip-Tease." Both songs were written especially for the rally by Lewis Allen.

Text Under Photograph

YOUTH DEFENSE RALLY: Strong support for President Roosevelt's foreign policies was voiced at a meeting held here Wednesday night at Manhattan Center by the New York Youth Congress. Photo above shows, left to right, Representative Vito Marcantonio; Jack McMichael, president of the American Youth Congress; John Darr, National Intercollegiate Christian Council; and Edward Strong, national organizational secretary of the AYC, seated on the platform. Below the platform with the huge banner urging action to build U. S. defenses hanging over it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It doesn't prove anything.

Mr. SCHERER. It proves you were there.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know that it proves I was there. The Daily Worker article misrepresents.

Mr. JACKSON. Will committee members please seek recognition of the Chair?

Reverend McMICHAEL. He asked a question. May I answer it?

Mr. SCHERER. He has answered it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That publication misrepresents me.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a photostatic copy of a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 18" for identification, which is a confidential police report, New York City, revealing Reverend McMichael speaking at a mass meeting outside the Japanese consulate, 51st Street and 5th Avenue, on Saturday, October 18, 1941.

It reads as follows:

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1941.

Attended mass meeting outside Japanese consulate, 51st Street and 5th Avenue. Meeting was called by American Youth Congress. About 800 people attended. Ruth Simon phoned me Friday night to tell me that Marcella Sloane, of the

Y. C. L., insisted on all the comrades attending it. Tom Jones, negro, chaired the meeting. Speakers included Jack McMichael, Bert Witt, and Conrad Kaye, of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters, Local 623, A. F. of L. They all called for the repeal of the Neutrality Act, no appeasement towards Japan, and increased aid to S. U. and Britain, and an A. E. F. if necessary.

I hand you this document for your perusal and ask you if you were present and spoke as therein listed in a report from the New York Police Department.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I notice that this report refers to comrades present and does not include this witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Was the witness present? I think that is the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought sometimes these reports have been based on other points.

Mr. JACKSON. The only point of particular interest to the committee is whether or not you were present in front of the Japanese consulate.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recall it. And if this statement that all of the speakers spoke in favor of an AEF, if necessary, is true, then all the speakers could not have included me because I was against an AEF up to Pearl Harbor. I was in favor of stopping the war materials to Japan because of the position that the—

Mr. JACKSON. But you have no personal recollection of being present on that occasion?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no recollection of being present and I know I was never for the AEF.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you say that the police report of your presence was incorrect?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is obviously incorrect at the point where the statement is made.

Mr. SCHERER. Is it incorrect as to your presence at this demonstration?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It might be correct or incorrect as to my presence, but it is incorrect that I was there speaking for an AEF, if that is what it says.

Mr. SCHERER. I am only interested in whether or not you were present.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought you were interested in whether I was present for that particular purpose, because I was not. That does not seem to have any bearing on the question of an AEF.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to know whether or not the confidential police report is true or untrue?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The only point I was making is that I have no memory of it.

Mr. SCHERER. Is it true or untrue?

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I have a—

Mr. SCHERER. Is it true or untrue?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is what true or untrue?

Mr. SCHERER. The police report? Is that a true report?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well, the witness states he cannot remember whether he was there or not.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 18.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be received.

(Police report, Saturday, October 18, 1941, meeting outside Japanese consulate was marked for identification and received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 18.)¹⁵

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 19" for identification and I am turning to a new section of this questioning. It is a photostatic copy of the journal Equality, the issue of February 1940. Page 21 carries an article by Jack R. McMichael requesting all youth between the ages of 16 and 25 during the period February 9 to 12, 1940, to urge the President and Members of Congress to act and to repress "antialien" measures and also to support "antilynching" bills.

The purpose of this is that this article written by the Reverend Jack McMichael, is written in a publication entitled "Equality"¹⁶ which has been cited as a Communist Party enterprise by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1944 and also among publications which the committee found to be Communist initiated and controlled, found so by the California Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Were the citations prior to or following the article?

Mr. KUNZIG. Following the article, but based upon the time which the article was written. It was for the contents of the magazine during this period of time that they were cited by the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. JACKSON. What is the pending question?

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is did you write that article in that magazine and did you contribute to it as therein evidenced?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am trying to read the article to see whether or not it reminds me of anything I wrote.

Mr. KUNZIG. You don't recall whether you wrote for that magazine?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am trying to be helpful. This is new to me. Mr. Chairman, so far as the content of the article is concerned, on glancing at it hastily, it would appear to me that if I did not write it I should have written it. It expresses the views I recall holding at that time.

Mr. JACKSON. The question is, Did you write the article at that time?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would believe that I did but I do not actually recall writing it, but it sounds pretty good to me and these goals are ones that I certainly supported at that time.

Mr. JACKSON. It reflects your views but you cannot say you wrote the article?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and incidentally it bears out that at that time, which was a year before the time that the police report was about, it would indicate if I wrote this as indicated that I was then against the sending of war materials to Japan.

Mr. JACKSON. Is it your impression that you authored this article?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, sir; it is my impression.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this in evidence, Mr. Chairman, as McMichael Exhibit No. 19.

¹⁵ Text of report was read into the record of this hearing. See p. 2720.

¹⁶ Equality:

1. Cited as a Communist Party enterprise (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p.49).

Mr. JACKSON. It will be so received.

(Equality, February 1940, article, Mr. Youth Goes to Washington, by Jack R. McMichael, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 19.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 19

(Equality, February 1940, p. 21)

MR. YOUTH GOES TO WASHINGTON

(By Jack R. McMichael)

Apathy of Elders Irks Young America: Delegates Will Seek Ways To Insure Democracy, Peace, and Livelihood

A generation of 21 million, 5 million of them unemployed and out of school—young America between the ages of 16 and 25—read in the papers that President Roosevelt has suggested reductions in expenditures for the National Youth Administration, the CCC, WPA, and PWA, the Public Health Service, the Office of Education.

Representatives of young America—gathered together in the American Youth Congress—meet, discuss the drastic nature of the situation, decide to act. So Mr. Youth goes to Washington.

From February 9 to 12, thousands of young people from farms and factories, schools, colleges, churches, and settlement houses will be in Washington attending a citizenship institute sponsored by the American Youth Congress. They will come to discuss citizenship there and then. Meeting with Congressmen and administrators of Federal agencies, they will explain the problems of their neighborhoods and discuss what can be done to remedy them.

The focal point in their efforts will be the passage of the American Youth Act now being introduced in Congress. It calls for a National Youth Administration of proportions capable of giving opportunity to the 5 million unemployed youth who without such opportunity can never be expected to be good, useful citizens of our democracy.

Emphasis will also be placed on questions of civil liberties and peace. Opposition will be expressed to repressive legislation in Congress such as the so-called "anti" alien measures. Support will be given to the antilynching bill. Opposition will be registered to the attempts being made to amend the National Labor Relations Act, weaken it, and take from labor some of its inherent rights.

Solidly behind the policy of keeping the United States from being involved in war, youth's opinion will be expressed on the already severe effect of the war. The necessity of taking steps to prevent circumvention of our Neutrality Act by munition makers and profiteers intent on the dangerous game of supplying loans and materials to belligerents will also find expression. At the same time, a strong stand will be taken to stop our country from being used as an arsenal by Japan in its widely condemned invasion of China.

These are issues young people feel strongly about. Their basic concern is for democracy. They realize that if democracy is to prosper it must be a reality—in terms of jobs, peace, civil rights, health, education, and housing—as well as a glittering ideal. This generation is determined to make democracy work, to practice good citizenship instead of just talking about it.

The way has been prepared through organization. For unless there is joint action among young people in organizations and between these organizations, little can be accomplished. Concrete steps toward the full blossoming of our democracy depend on the ability of the best-informed citizens to arouse the great majority from their lethargy. Lack of interest in public affairs is the most dangerous disease imaginable. It exists in America. It must be overcome.

And young people are determined to have a part in doing away with this lethargy, arousing the public to the vital issues of the day—and to the issues on which our tomorrow depends.

In Washington, Mr. Youth will be consulting with some of the Nation's leaders: Congressmen who have introduced vital legislation, public figures such as Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Attorney General Robert H. Jackson and National Youth Administrator Aubrey Williams. Meeting in the departmental auditorium for 3 days, Mr. Youth will be providing leadership for the Nation, impetus to the millions of citizens now unwilling to give serious consideration to public affairs. Watch this generation make democracy work. Watch Mr. Youth go to Washington.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 20," which is entitled "Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America."

The photostatic copy of the "Call to a Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America" which was held in Washington, D. C., at the National Press Club Auditorium, 14th and F Streets NW., on June 7, 8, and 9, 1940. This lists the Reverend McMichael as a member of the provisional committee setting up this conference.

I hand you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 20" for identification and ask you whether you were a member, as set up here and setting up this conference?

While at it, I will give you a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 21" for identification, which is a letterhead of the National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America and which also has you listed as a member of the provisional committee.

Mr. JACKSON. I have no desire to unduly hasten you. You may examine the document, but do you know whether or not you were a member of the organization or a sponsor of whatever is attributed in that document?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no memory of being a member of the organization. I don't think I was, Mr. Chairman, but I appear from this, and I am just looking at this and I have been trying to check some other information to see if it would bear on it to have been on a provisional committee. At least they listed me that way.

Mr. JACKSON. You have no recollection of it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I certainly have been in favor of constitutional liberties in America for a long time.

Mr. JACKSON. The Communists are very adept in choosing names which are most appealing. Do you have any questions on this exhibit?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir. You have no recollection, you say, of being a member of the provisional committee. Well, did you attend this Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America on June 7, 8, and 9, 1940, here in Washington, D. C.?

There were two separate documents, a letterhead and a Call to a National Conference listing your name.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Does it indicate I attended?

Mr. KUNZIG. No; but can you say whether you attended?

Reverend McMICHAEL. What were the dates?

Mr. KUNZIG. I will tell you for the third time, June 7, 8, and 9, 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; there is no indication in this that I attended the meeting, and I gather from what you say that there is none in that statement that I attended. I have no memory of attending the meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. While he has the diary of June 1940 in his hand, would you tell us what your diary shows as to where you were on Saturday, June 22, and Sunday, June 23, 1940, the same month you were just looking at in your diary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think that the Board of Home Missions—

Mr. SCHERER. I didn't ask that question. I asked what your diary shows.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It doesn't show, but I think I was in Arkansas. The Board of Home Missions employed me in June of 1940, and I recall going to Arkansas to do this church work.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you answer my question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. What does the diary show as to where you were on June 22?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It does not show. I do not have an entry on those days, but I think there is a record of it.

Mr. SCHERER. You have no record of those days?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think there is a good record.

Mr. SCHERER. I am talking about your diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The 22d and the 23d?

Mr. SCHERER. That is right.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no record.

Mr. SCHERER. How many other days in June have you no record of where you were in June of 1940?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was in Arkansas.

Mr. SCHERER. I am asking about the diary. How many other days in June do you have no record of?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was in Arkansas, I am confident, on those days.

Mr. SCHERER. That is not my question. I ask that he be instructed to answer the question.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. What do you want to find out, sir?

Do you want to find out where I was in June, as indicated by this diary?

Mr. SCHERER. My question first was what does your diary show with reference to where you were on Saturday, June 22, 1940, and June 23, 1940, a Sunday, and you say it shows no entries.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have stated that I think we can get the information if you are interested in that. The Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church has that.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the question has been answered.

Mr. SCHERER. My next question is for what other dates in June do you have no record at all showing where you were on those dates in the diary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is it germane?

Mr. JACKSON. I believe so, inasmuch as you yourself brought the diary to refresh your recollection.

Reverend McMICHAEL. A meeting of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council.

Mr. SCHERER. That is still not the question and the answer to my question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am going to answer it in my own way.

Mr. SCHERER. You are going to answer it my way.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It has to be in my own way. I am not your alter ego. It is clear to me that I went to Arkansas and I do not have any entries for the rest of June.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you tell us the days in the month of June of 1940 for which you have no entry in your diary.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have already answered that. From the 4th of June I have no entry.

Mr. SCHERER. From the 4th of June on you have no entries?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right, and I was in Arkansas doing church work with the Home Missions Council and we can get, I mean under the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church.

Mr. SCHERER. And on June 22 and on June 23, 1940, you say you were in Arkansas?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am sure I can find out. I think I was.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to find out whether you claim you were in Arkansas on June 22 and June 23, 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is my memory of it, that I was in Arkansas. We do not have to rely on memory.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence McMichael exhibits 20 and 21 as the documents we have been discussing.

Mr. JACKSON. They will be so received in the record.

(Call and program, Conference on Constitutional Liberties, June 7, 8, and 9, 1940, at Washington, D. C., was marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 20" and received in evidence.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 20

(Part 1)

Call

to a

Conference

on

**Constitutional Liberties
in America**

June 7, 8 and 9 (1940)

**Washington, D. C.
National Press Club Auditorium
Fourteenth and F Streets, N. W.**

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 20

(Part 2)

The long dreaded nightmare of total war has become the terrible reality of Europe today. Its shadow falls across our own peaceful land. Its horror arouses among our people the fears that too easily become panic, mutual suspicion, and persecution. To all the enemies of American freedom, war offers the excuse for its destruction.

The rights of labor, the rights of political and national minorities, the rights of citizens are under attack. The attack is gathering momentum. With alarming speed it moves toward abrogation of the Bill of Rights and the annulment of all our Constitutional guarantees of liberty.

Each day's events show more clearly the trend and the pattern. Unless the words and the acts of thinking people call a halt, our democracy will be annihilated.

The time is short. Action now is imperative. Responding to the challenge of this crisis, a group of people from the ranks of labor and the adherents of American democracy is meeting in Washington to plan and put in motion a program to preserve our traditional way of life.

We urge your attendance at this meeting, your aid and your participation. Come to help us as an individual, as a member of your organization, as an American who wants to keep America free.

Program

FRIDAY, JUNE 7

REGISTRATION	7:30 p.m.
RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP	8:15 p.m.

Chairman—PROFESSOR ROBERT K. SPEER, *New York University*

Address of Welcome—MERLE D. VINCENT, *Temporary Chairman National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America.*

Speakers—REVEREND OWEN A. KNOX, *President, Civil Rights Federation of Michigan*

"The Detroit Raids"

PEARL M. HART, *Chairman, Civil Liberties Committee, National Lawyers Guild*

"War Hysteria Causes Breakdown of Law and Order in Illinois"

ALDERMAN EARL B. DICKERSON, *Chicago, Ill.*

"Rights of the Negro"

HAROLD J. PRITCHETT, *President, International Wood Workers of America*

"Terror in Gray's Harbor"

JAMES DOMBROWSKI, *Member, Southern Conference for Human Welfare*

"The Poll Tax"

Registration Fee—\$1.00

Headquarters: 335 Southern Building; Phone: NA. 7721

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 20

(Part 3)

SATURDAY, JUNE 8

REGISTRATION

9:30 a.m.

Chairman—REVEREND ALBERT T. MOLLEGEN, *Professor Christian Ethics, Virginia Theological Seminary*

RIGHTS OF MINORITY GROUPS

9:30-10:30 a.m.

Speakers—MAX YERGAN, *President, National Negro Congress*

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, *Member, National Committee, Communist Party*

PROFESSOR C. FAYETTE TAYLOR, *Member, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom*

RIGHTS OF ALIEN AND FOREIGN BORN

10:30-12:00 noon

Speakers—CAREY McWILLIAMS, *Chairman, American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born*

ALFRED K. STERN, *Chairman, National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights*

JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS, *Vice-President, Philadelphia Chapter, Descendants of the American Revolution*

JOHN A. LAPP, *Chairman, Chicago Civil Liberties Committee*

HOPE STEVENS, *Secretary, Caribbean Union*

SATURDAY, JUNE 8

RIGHTS OF LABOR

2:00-4:30 p.m.

Chairman—MORRIS WATSON, *Vice President, American Newspaper Guild*

Speakers—HONORABLE FRANK M. FRIES, *Congressman from Illinois*

JOSEPH CURRAN, *President, National Maritime Union*

FRANCES WILLIAMS, *Administrative Secretary, American Youth Congress*

JOHN P. DAVIS, *Secretary, National Negro Congress*

ELMER BENSON, *Former Governor of Minnesota*

SUNDAY, JUNE 9

COMMITTEE MEETINGS

10:00-12:00 noon

The following committees will meet to prepare reports and recommendations to the conference. Delegates are invited to attend the meetings in which they are interested.

Rights of Citizenship
Rights of Labor

Rights of Minority Groups
Rights of the Alien and Foreign Born

LUNCHEON—12:45 P.M.

National Press Club Auditorium

SPEAKER

EDWIN S. SMITH,

Member, National Labor Relations Board

"Civil Rights and National Defense"

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:30 p.m.

Resolutions

Program of Action

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 20

(Part 4)

PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE

PROF. FRANK BOAS
New York City
REV. OWEN A. KNOX
Durham, N.C.
ELMER BENSON
Appland, Wis.
HERBERT BIRNBAUM
Millwood, Calif.
PROF. HERMAN E. NILSON
Columbus, Mo.

CARST McWILLIAMS
Los Angeles, Calif.
MAX YERGAN
New York City
HOWARD P. CORTYMAN
Sausalito, Wash.
GEORGE MARSHALL
New York City
ROBERT MACDONALD
Portland, Ore.

PROF. NED H. DEBERONH
New York City
YOUNG MOOREY
San Francisco, Calif.
JACK McMICHAEL
New York City
PROF. ROBERT W. OFFER
New York City
MERLE D. VINCENT
Temporary Chairman
Washington, D. C.

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Congressman from Washington
DR. THOMAS B. COOPER
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Philadelphia, Pa.
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Washington, D. C.
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MARY DUBIN
New York, N. Y.
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New York, N. Y.
GLADYS T. EDWARDS
Jamaison, N. Dak.
COURTLAND EYRE
Examination, Ill.
GOLDIE FRIN
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ELMER FENLHAGER
Cleveland, Ohio
MRS. SARAH BARD FIELD
Los Gatos, Calif.
JIMMIE P. FLODY
Chicago, Ill.
BERTHA JOSEPHINE FOSS
New York, N. Y.
MITCHELL FRANKLIN
New York, N. Y.

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Newark, N. J.
ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG
Chicago, Ill.
RABBI DAVID GRAUSART
Chicago, Ill.
JOSEPH S. GILBERT
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Philadelphia, Pa.
DANIEL H. HAMMETT
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PEARL M. HART
Chicago, Ill.
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MARION HATWAY
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LILLIAN HERSTEIN
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CHARLES H. HOUTON
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Washington, D. C.
JOEL D. HUNTER
Chicago, Ill.
REV. WILLIAM LINES
New York, N. Y.
ABRAHAM J. HISEMAN
Newark, N. J.
GARDNER JACKSON
Washington, D. C.
REV. W. H. JERVIS
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HON. KENT KILLER
Congressman from Illinois
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New York, N. Y.
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New York, N. Y.
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HARRY C. LAMBERTSON
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New York, N. Y.
CLIFFORD T. McAVOY
New York, N. Y.
LOUIS F. MCCABE
Philadelphia, Pa.
JAMES McNAMARA
Washington, D. C.
DR. W. L. MAMANEY, JR.
Philadelphia, Pa.
PROF. WILLIAM M. MALISSOFF
Brooklyn, N. Y.
ALBERT MALTZ
Long Island City, N. Y.

HON. VITO MARCANTONIO
Congressman from New York
PROF. THORNTON MERRILL
Baltimore, Md.
PROF. P. O. MATTHEWSEN
Cambridge, Mass.
LEWIS MERRILL
New York, N. Y.
REV. ALBERT T. MOLLERMAN
Alexandria, Va.
HON. JAMES E. MURRAY
Senator from Montana
HON. JELLY O'CONNELL
Hamilton, Montana
HARVEY O'CONNOR
Chicago, Ill.
MRS. LUCY E. PARSONS
Chicago, Ill.
WILLIAM L. PATTERSON
Chicago, Ill.
ELLIOT PAUL
New York, N. Y.
PROF. W. FAUSTIN
Columbia, Mo.
PROF. D. W. PRALL
Cambridge, Mass.
HAROLD J. PRITCHETT
Seattle, Wash.
MICHAEL QUILL
New York City
HON. JOSEPH H. RADNEY
Philadelphia, Pa.
PROF. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH
New York, N. Y.
BERTHA C. REYNOLDS
Long Island City, N. Y.
RED ROBINSON
Denver, Colo.
WILLIAM E. RODRIGUEZ
Chicago, Ill.
WALKER S. SAYRE
New York City
GEORGE SELLES
Ridgely, Conn.
PROF. MALCOLM SHARP
Chicago, Ill.
HERMAN SHIMLIN
New York, N. Y.
EDWIN S. SMITH
Washington, D. C.
REV. W. B. SPOFFORD
New York, N. Y.
ALFRED K. STERN
New York, N. Y.
DONALD OGDEN STEWART
Carmel, Calif.
I. E. STONE
New York, N. Y.
REV. ALFRED W. SWAN
Madison, Wis.
PROF. C. FAYETTE TAYLOR
Cambridge, Mass.
CHANNING H. TOWNS
New York, N. Y.
RACHEL VIKMAN
New York, N. Y.
SAUL C. WALDRAM
Philadelphia, Pa.
PROF. COLTON E. WARREN
Amherst, Mass.
PROF. LEROY WATERMAN
San Anselmo, Mich.
MORRIS WATSON
New York, N. Y.
DOREY A. WILKERSON
Washington, D. C.
ELLA WINTER
Chicago, Ill.
ROBERT WITTE
Los Gatos, Calif.
CHARLES ESKINE SCOTT WOOD
Los Gatos, Calif.
JOHN WOODBURY
Elgin, Texas
RICHARD WRIGHT
Charmanna, Mass.
ART YOUNG
New York, N. Y.

(Letterhead, dated June 3, 1940, National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America listing Jack McMichael on provisional committee was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 21.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 21

NATIONAL CONFERENCE

on

CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES IN AMERICA

Room 335, Southern Building

Washington, D. C.

Telephone National 2721

PROVISIONAL
COMMITTEE

June 3, 1940.

PROF. FRANZ BOAS

REV. OWEN A. KNOX

ELMER BENSON

CAREY McWILLIAMS

PROF. NED H. DEARBORN

HERBERT BIBERMAN

PROF. HERMAN C. NIXON

MAX YERGAN

ROBERT MACGREGOR

JACK McMICHAEL

TOM MOONEY

PROF. ROBERT K. SPEER

GEORGE MARSHALL

HOWARD P. COSTIGAN

MERLE D. VINCENT

TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN

Dear Friend:

Widespread interest in the local Conference on Civil Rights, held in Washington under the sponsorship of the Washington Committee for Democratic Action, brought into focus the general desire of many scattered civil rights groups to get together and talk over their common problems.

As a result of the discussions growing out of the Washington Conference, a Provisional Committee was formed to initiate the Call to a National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, which will take place in Washington on June 7, 8, and 9 at the National Press Club Auditorium.

The enclosed program speaks for itself. Our Provisional Committee and sponsors are proud of the wide response which has already been assured for the success of the conference.

But it will take more than speakers and sponsors to make our conference all that the hour requires.

If we are to do the job that needs to be done, if we are to make this meeting a real power for the preservation of democracy, you and others like you must come to it and play a part in directing its course.

In particular, we extend an invitation to you and others in Washington who, by initiating and supporting the local conference on civil rights, made this broader conference possible.

Because the time is so short, please let us know on the enclosed blank by return mail whether you wish a reservation for the Luncheon on Sunday, June 9.

Hoping you can attend all the sessions of the conference, I am,

Sincerely yours,



Temporary Chairman

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 22," Mr. Chairman, which is a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.¹⁷ It is dated Sep-

¹⁷ National Federation for Constitutional Liberties:

1. Cited as subversive and Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

(Continued on p. 2732)

tember 11, 1940, and it is a press release which itself is dated September 10, 1940, and this letterhead lists Reverend McMichael, Jack McMichael, New York, as a sponsor of this organization, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, and I think the record will show that I stated that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties grew out of the National Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America about which the witness has no recollection a moment ago but on which his name was listed as a member of the provisional committee.

I hand you the document, McMichael exhibit No. 22, and ask you whether you were a sponsor of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, as is shown on that official letterhead of the organization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Where is my name?

Mr. KUNZIG. It is on the next page, underlined in red. Do you have any recollection of this National Federation for Constitutional Liberties?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I remember the organization existed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you a sponsor?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am listed as a sponsor and I was in favor of constitutional liberties, but I do not have the actual recollection of being a sponsor.

Mr. KUNZIG. So all these various times your name was used, the name was perhaps used improperly or they got it out of the thin air?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not charging it was used improperly, but I do not recollect. It may have been used improperly. I want to give you an honest answer.

Mr. SCHERER. We want to have one.

Reverend McMICHAEL. A what?

Mr. SCHERER. An honest answer.

Mr. KUNZIG. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in letters to the Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948.

Here is something further:

Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * (It) was established as the result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. * * * the defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation.

That was cited by Attorney General Francis Biddle in the Congressional Record of September 24, 1942, at page 7687.

2. "Part of what Lenin called the solar system of organizations, ostensibly having no connection with the Communist Party, by which Communists attempt to create sympathizers and supporters of their program. * * * [It] was established as a result of a conference on constitutional liberties held in Washington, D. C., June 7-9, 1940. * * * The defense of Communist leaders such as Sam Darcy and Robert Wood, party secretaries for Pennsylvania and Oklahoma, have been major efforts of the federation" (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

3. "There can be no reasonable doubt about the fact that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties—regardless of its high-sounding name—is one of the viciously subversive organizations of the Communist Party" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 50; also cited in reports, June 25, 1942, p. 20; and January 2, 1943, pp. 9 and 12).

4. Among a "maze of organizations" which were "spawned for the alleged purpose of defending civil liberties in general but actually intended to protect Communist subversion from any penalties under the law" (Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1115, September 2, 1947, p. 3).

I wanted to refer to Sam Darcy because of the next exhibit that is coming up.

Then this National Federation for Constitutional Liberties goes on and is cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and by this name and others. I now offer in evidence this document as exhibit No. 22.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be received.

(Letterhead, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, dated September 11, 1940, and press release were received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 22.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 22

(Part 1)

NATIONAL FEDERATION for CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES

1410 H Street, N. W.
Rooms 100-102

Washington, D. C.

Telephone: National 7721

September 11, 1940.

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Des Moines, N. D.

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MILTON N. KEMNITZ

ACTION LETTER

Subject: Attempts at Intimidation of Anti-Conscription Lobbyists

Situation: Mounting popular resentment against conscription has taken the form of a people's march on Capitol Hill. The number of anti-conscription lobbyists representing organizations and communities the country over grew last week to thousands. Becoming desperate, draft proponents are attempting to beat down this opposition with clubs and by intimidation. Police have:

1. Arrested clergymen and assaulted participants in an anti-conscription devotional service on the capitol steps.
2. Arrested a number of persons for distributing leaflets.
3. Ordered automobile drivers to remove from their cars signs opposing conscription.
4. Ordered individuals to remove from their persons badges marked "Emergency Peace Mobilization."

The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties has:

1. Brought suit against offending authorities to stop these unlawful acts.
2. Published the enclosed leaflet.

ACTION:

1. Wire or write the following at Washington D.C. demanding that they stop their unlawful and violent attacks on civil rights:

Major Ernest W. Brown
Superintendent of Police

Hon. Clesley W. Jurney,
Sergeant-at-Arms,
United States Senate

Melvin C. Hazen
J. Russell Young
Col. David McCoach, Jr.
Commissioners of the
District of Columbia

Francis F. Gillen
Acting Superintendent of Parks
U.S. Department of Interior

2. Distribute, post and reprint the enclosed leaflet. Quantities of the leaflet and mats of the picture may be obtained by wiring us.

IMPORTANT:

Rush funds to the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties NOW for the fight for freedom of speech and assembly in the Nation's Capitol.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 22

(Part 2)

Sponsors

DR. THOMAS ADDIS <i>San Francisco, Calif.</i>	GOLDIE ERVIN <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>	ALBERT MALTE <i>Long Island City, New York</i>
OSCAR AMERINGER <i>Oklahoma City, Okla.</i>	ELMER O. FEHLHABER <i>Cleveland, Ohio</i>	CLIFFORD T. McAVOY <i>New York, New York</i>
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LOUIS P. BIRK <i>New York, New York</i>	MARY FOLEY GROSSMAN <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>	TOM MOONEY <i>San Francisco, Calif.</i>
DR. ERNEST P. BOAS <i>New York, New York</i>	PROF. MARION HATHWAY <i>Pittsburgh, Pa.</i>	HARVEY O'CONNOR <i>Chicago, Ill.</i>
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JOSEPH CADDEN <i>New York, New York</i>	ROCKWELL KENT <i>Ausable Forks, New York</i>	PROF. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH <i>New York, New York</i>
RUSSELL N. CHASE <i>Cleveland, Ohio</i>	CAROL KING <i>New York, New York</i>	HEATHA C. REYNOLDS <i>Long Island City, New York</i>
HON. JOHN M. COFFEE <i>Congressman from Washington</i>	EDWARD LAMB <i>Toledo, Ohio</i>	DONALD OGDEN STEWART <i>Carmel, Calif.</i>
MRS. WALTER COPE <i>Gettysburg, Pa.</i>	JOSEPH LANDY <i>Newark, New Jersey</i>	MRS. ALBERT B. TRICKER <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>
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JOHN P. DAVIS <i>Washington, D. C.</i>	DR. M. V. LEOP <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>	PROF. DOERY A. WILKERSON <i>Washington, D. C.</i>
ANNETTA M. DIECKMANN <i>Chicago, Ill.</i>	GEORGIA LLOYD <i>Chicago, Ill.</i>	REV. EDWIN H. WILSON <i>Chicago, Ill.</i>
BELLA V. DODD <i>New York, New York</i>	DR. ROBERT LOWENSTEIN <i>Newark, New Jersey</i>	ELLA WINTER <i>Carmel, Calif.</i>
JAMES R. DUMFRIES <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>	DR. W. L. MAHANEY, JR. <i>Philadelphia, Pa.</i>	COL. CHARLES ERIKINE SCOTT WOOD <i>Los Gatos, Calif.</i>
ROBERT W. DUNN <i>New York, New York</i>	PROF. WILLIAM M. MALINOFF <i>Brooklyn, New York</i>	ART YOUNG <i>New York, New York</i>

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 22—Continued

(Parts 3 and 4)

*For immediate release**September 10, 1940*

Suit against the Commissioners of the District of Columbia, the Metropolitan Police Department, the Capitol Police, and the National Park Service and a number of police officers was filed in the Federal District Court here today by attorneys of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties on behalf of the American Peace Mobilization and a number of individuals.

The suit arose out of police action in arresting leaflet distributors and breaking the display of badges or buttons and banners on automobiles, and breaking up peaceful meetings and public prayers in the course of the campaign against passage of the Burke-Wadsworth bill now before Congress.

The complaint, after citing numerous instances of illegal interference with the rights of free speech and assembly, asks for a preliminary and a permanent injunction against the Commissioners, Major Ernest Brown of the 1st Dept., Chester W. Jurney, sergeant-at-arms of the U. S. Senate, Francis acting superintendent and director of the Natl. Park Service, Acting Robt. J. Barrett of the D. C. police, and a number of D. C. policemen.

The suit also asks for a test of the constitutionality of D. C. police regulations cited by the police in refusing to allow distribution of leaflets, wearing of badges and buttons, and exhibition of banners on automobiles.

The police are charged in addition with using "force and violence" to break up a peaceful meeting gathered on the steps of the Supreme Court to pray against passage of the conscription bill, and are accused of having "beaten, bruised and severely injured several of the plaintiffs."

The meetings which were dispersed were entirely peaceful and lawful, the complaint declares, whereas the police "made no effort to preserve peace and to protect the plaintiffs in their peaceful activities, but attempted, rather, through force, threats, and violence to restrain the plaintiffs from continuing their lawful activity."

In conclusion, the complaint declares that the police have threatened to continue arresting leaflet distributors, seizing and destroying leaflets, badges, banners, etc., breaking up peaceful and lawful meetings, and in general preventing the individual plaintiffs and the American Peace Mobilization from making their opposition to the conscription bill known to the public.

The suit was filed in the names of Rev. Owen A. Knox of Detroit, pastor, Bethlehem Methodist Church and chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, Oliver Haskell of Seattle, field director, American Peace Mobilization, Howard Lee of Chattanooga, secretary, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Rabbi Moses Miller of New York, chairman, Jewish Peoples Committee, Charles I. Stewart of New York, member, Descendants of the American Revolution, and others.

Attorneys for the plaintiffs are Charles H. Houston, of Washington and Abraham J. Isserman of Newark, N. J.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 23," which is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of December 19, 1940, page 5, an article entitled "Free Sam Darcy, Educators and Writers Urge Olson." That is, of course, the same Sam Darcy just referred to in the words of Attorney General Francis Biddle.

One of the signers or sponsors of this appeal to free Sam Darcy, among the names listed, is one Jack McMichael, American Youth Congress, New York City.

I hand you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 23" for identification and ask you if you did allow your name to be used, or lent your name to be used in an appeal to free Sam Darcy, noted Communist leader.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, previously someone indicated that this December 19, 1940, issue of the Daily Worker had my name in this connection and I couldn't lay my hands on that publication. I wanted to confirm what he said, and I see you have a photostat of it here. That is not necessarily accurate just because it is in the Daily Worker, though you seem to think so, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. JACKSON. We understand it is not necessarily correct. We ask you whether or not it is correct and whether or not it is correct that you did join in such a movement. We are asking for some enlightenment.

Reverend McMICHAEL. On this Daily Worker?

Mr. JACKSON. That is right.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is my name.

Mr. KUNZIG. Apparently none of the papers, the Daily Worker and others, are correct when they refer to you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is not correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. None of those papers referred to today.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It seems to me you have been selective. I haven't noticed you bringing in the Washington Post or the—

Mr. JACKSON. The question is whether or not you did enter into such a plea to free Mr. Darcy.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Though I don't recall signing this or having my name on it, from the study that I made at the time that I referred to of the issue involved, it seemed to be a clear case of discrimination against the man, and so I have been against political discrimination as these other religious and professional leaders, many of whom are very distinguished men who signed it, were——

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, but to the point——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no recollection of signing, but I certainly have been against political discrimination or discrimination against any child of God.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you deny that you did join in this movement?

Reverend McMICHAEL. My answer to that would have to be, if you want an honest answer, but I have no memory of it, I won't deny it or affirm it, either, because I have no memory of it, but I will affirm from my consideration of the case I find myself in the position, taken from an ethical and Christian point of view——

Mr. CLARDY. Regardless of whether you actually signed something or joined the movement, was it your belief that what this recommends should be done? In other words, was that in agreement with your outlook and philosophy? That is independent of anything you have in writing anywhere.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the witness stated that was in general accord with his philosophy at that time.

Mr. CLARDY. I understood——

Reverend McMICHAEL. People put in jail for the same length of time——

Mr. CLARDY. My question is, Were you in sympathy with the movement?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't remember being at the time, but as I have looked into it now as the issue was, I think it seems to be, from the Christian point of view I don't think we ought to favor that.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, this document, McMichael exhibit No. 23, that we have just been discussing, which contains an appeal to free Sam Darcy, Communist leader, I will offer in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 23.

Mr. JACKSON. Admitted.

(Photostatic copy of Daily Worker, December 19, 1940, p. 5, article, "Free Sam Darcy, Educators and Writers Urge Olson," was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 23.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 24," sir, Call for a National Action Conference for Civil Rights, sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the same organization referred to as a cited Communist-front organization.

This call to this conference of April 19 and 20, 1941, lists as Jack McMichael, New York, N. Y.

I hand you this document, McMichael exhibit No. 24, sir, if you were a sponsor for this conference called by Communist-front organization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, never having been a member of the Civil Rights Congress, and the call to this meeting refers to, Mr. Chairman, giving no indication at all that a

tion of that kind was going to be organized as a result of it, but rather, speaking in terms of the defense of civil liberties for all Americans, along with many distinguished presidents of universities, such as Benjamin E. Mays, once a president of the Council of Churches in Missouri—

Mr. JACKSON. All of the names will appear in the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Professor Boas—I did sign. I investigated that and have evidence that I did sign the call. There was no indication the organization would come out of it, and I have never been a member of the organization.

Mr. JACKSON. But the answer to the question is that you did sign the call?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I signed the call, which didn't indicate the organization would be formed, but the call I will stand by it and I read it with many distinguished people and I was proud to be in their company.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence this McMichael exhibit No. 24, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. It will be so received.

(Photostatic copy of call, National Action Conference for Civil Rights, April 19-20, 1941, was received in evidence.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 24

(Part 1)

C A L L
n a t i o n a l
A C T I O N
conference

for *Civil Rights*

A P R I L 19 - 20
HOTEL HAMILTON
WASHINGTON, D.C.

National Federation *for* Constitutional Liberties

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 24

(Part 2)

* * * * *

"No Blackout of Civil Rights!"

EVERYWHERE throughout America the people have swung into action in defense of their civil rights. There is deep and mounting indignation at the attacks on Constitutional liberties.

These attacks are directed at the people—in homes, in factories, on farms, in organizations. They are directed against freedom of speech, press and assembly; the right to organize and bargain collectively; the right to privacy of membership lists; the right to vote as you please; the right to freedom of worship and opinion. They are carried on with police violence and vigilante intimidation.

These attacks are initiated or supported, in many instances, by agencies of federal, state and local government. Other assaults, less direct but more subversive of the people's sovereignty, are governmental proposals for mediation, arbitration, super-labor tribunals on a "voluntary" basis.

In Congress, now ready for enactment are bills on wire tapping; universal fingerprinting; repeal and drastic amendment of the National Labor Relations Act; outlawing closed shops; prohibiting strikes; deportation or concentration camps for aliens; outlawing minority parties; life imprisonment for "treachery"; death sentence for "sabotage"; and life imprisonment for advocating changes in government.

In 43 state legislatures, similar bills or worse, are under consideration.

In the face of these attacks, the people have refused to give ground. They have moved forward, strong and unyielding, in defense of our American liberties which the forces of reaction, under the cloak of war hysteria, would destroy.

From coast to coast come reports of successful action:

- *New organizations to defend civil liberties are springing up.*
- *State-wide conferences to defend civil rights are being organized.*
- *From thousands of people come mass protests.*

Everywhere the fight for civil rights, though different in detail, in essence is the same. The time has now come to pool our experiences and ideas. Systematic strategy is required on a national scale to defend Constitutional liberties.

Therefore, the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties is calling a **NATIONAL ACTION CONFERENCE ON CIVIL RIGHTS**. This is a conference, not for talk, but to *plan and act*. The masses of the people demand, "*No blackout of civil rights!*"

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

1410 H Street, N. W. — NAtional 7720 — Washington, D. C.

"THE WAY TO KEEP FREE SPEECH IS TO SPEAK"

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 24

(Part 3)

PROGRAM*Saturday, April 19*

Registration—HAMILTON HOTEL, GOLD ROOM	9:30 a.m.
CHAIRMAN—REVEREND OWEN A. KNOX, <i>Chairman, National Federation for Constitutional Liberties</i>	
Roll Call of the States	10:00-10:30
Report of the Secretary	10:30-11:00
ACTION MEETINGS	

This is a Conference to plan effective action in defense of civil rights. The *Action Meetings*, without formal speeches, will center discussion on the most pressing civil rights issues today. In them the delegates must play the leading part. Out of them will come clear-cut, workable plans in meeting the issues

Rights of Franchise	11-12:30
Labor's Rights	2:00- 3:30
Racial Discrimination	3:30- 5:00

Saturday Evening

Open House to Delegates—Hosts: Washington Committee for Democratic Action	8:30 p.m.
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*Sunday Morning, April 20***ACTION MEETING**

Freedom of Speech, Press and Assembly	10:30-12:00
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Sunday Afternoon

PLANS FOR ACTION—Immediate and Long Range	2:00- 4:00
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On *Issues*: Plans for action, growing out of the Action Meeting, will be submitted for discussion and decision.

On *Organization*: Plans for more effective organization of forces, nationally and locally, will be submitted.

Sunday Evening

MASS MEETING—NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AUDITORIUM	8:15 p.m.
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Auspices: Washington Committee for Democratic Action

Speakers: EDWIN S. SMITH
Member, National Labor Relations Board

CLIFFORD T. McAVOY
Deputy Commissioner of Welfare, New York City

Monday, April 21

Delegates will visit their Congressmen and Senators on legislation affecting Civil Rights	9:30 a.m.
---	-----------

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 24

(Part 4)

National Federation for Constitutional Liberties

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Detroit, Mich.

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REV. EDWIN H. WILSON
Chicago, Ill.
LILA WINTER
Beverly Hills, Calif.
COL. CHARLES ERMAINE SCOTT WOOD
Los Gatos, Calif.
ART YOUNG
New York, N. Y.

CREDENTIAL

Name of Organisation.....
Address: Street..... City and State.....
Name of Delegate or Observer..... Address..... City and State.....

Enclose \$..... for registration at \$1.00 per person. \$..... contribution toward expense of conference.

NATIONAL FEDERATION for CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTIES
1410 H Street N. W. Phone National 7720 Washington, D. C.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I have just a minute?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, will the contents of the Call go into the record, and all of the people that signed it? I assume that will be a part of it?

Mr. KUNZIG. The whole thing will be in the record.

Mr. JACKSON. Yes, the entire Call will go in.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And the signers? That will show there is nothing about the civil-rights signers in the Call.

Mr. KUNZIG. It will show the names of all those who signed, whether they were members of subversive groups or duped by subversive groups, all the names mentioned.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right, but there is no mention of the Civil Rights Congress.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will come to that. There is plenty on that, as you know very well.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman——

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I will return to the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War,¹⁸ and I have a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War, dated August 10, 1940, which lists Jack McMichael, chairman of the American Youth Congress, as a sponsor.

I have this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 25" for identification, and I hand it to you and ask you, sir, whether you were, as listed on that letterhead, a sponsor of the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War?

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Do you see my name?

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am looking for my name.

Mr. KUNZIG. It appears on the reverse side, a list of sponsors.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I see that it appears. I don't—let's see, August 1940——

Mr. Chairman, I was certainly for keeping America out of war in 1940; that is what it was——

Mr. JACKSON. Well, fine, but were you in the organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know. I have no evidence. I could look into that and try to find out. I would want the record to show factually where my memory fails me. I don't have any memory of it because this has never been brought to my attention. Some things had been—the Call; I looked into it and—I was in favor of keeping America out of war right up to Pearl Harbor, and that included 1940, so I certainly favored that.

Mr. JACKSON. You have no present recollection of being in the organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I have none; that is right. I suppose sometimes people's names are used inaccurately.

¹⁸ Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War:

1. "After Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, the Communist-led Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War * * * came forth to oppose the national-defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other 'war-mongering' efforts." It initiated the American Peace Mobilization (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 99 and 105).

Mr. CLARDY. This is an instance in which, I take it, you are unable to deny what the document represents as the fact?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I neither deny nor confirm that it is a fact.

Mr. CLARDY. My question is: You are unable to deny what is stated?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I state both—I neither deny nor affirm it. I add a little bit; I was in favor of keeping America out of war, so it is a possibility.

Mr. CLARDY. Since you were in sympathy with what this document represents——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Practically all people were for keeping America out of war.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, if you want to remain in this hearing room I advise you to be respectful.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am here because you subpoenaed me, sir. That is why I am here.

Mr. CLARDY. My question here——

Mr. JACKSON. Just a minute. There will be no personalities between the witness and committee members on any occasion and under any circumstances.

Proceed with the questioning.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Witness, since you have indicated you are in sympathy with the objectives covered by the document in question, is it not probable that it correctly reflects the fact that your name was used with permission?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, that doesn't tell you much about the organization. It is just the title of it. I would have to know a lot more about that before—from the title of it——

Mr. JACKSON. You cannot affirm or deny at this time whether or not you were a member of this organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not honestly. I am in favor of the title, but I don't know the rest of the organization.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer McMichael exhibit No. 25 in evidence.

Mr. JACKSON. So received.

(Photostatic copy of letterhead of Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War, dated August 10, 1940, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 25.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 1)



COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY KEEPING OUT OF WAR

Room 812 • 203 North Wabash Avenue • Chicago, Illinois • Central 6882

SPONSORS

REV. GEORGE A. ACKERLY
Washington D C

JOSEPHINE TRUSLOW ADAMS

OSCAR M. ADAMS -
Director Wesley Foundation of
Wisconsin

MEYER ADELMAN
Regional Director Steel Workers
Organizing Committee Milwaukee

REV. WILLIAM H. ALDERSON -
First Methodist Church
Bridgeport Connecticut

REV. GROSS W. ALEXANDER
Lyndhurst New Jersey

RABBI MICHAEL ALPER
New York N Y

OSCAR AMERINGER
Editor The American Guardian,
Oklahoma City Okla

REV. WILLIAM C. ANDERSON
Bremen Indiana

REV. J. CARLTON BABBS
Reynoldsburg Ohio

PROF. ROLAND M. BAINBRIDGE
Yale Divinity School Editor Journal of
Religious Education

DR. FRANK E. BAKER
President Milwaukee State Teachers
College

LOUIS BARATY
Greater Flint and Union Council
Flint Michigan

KATHERINE H. BARBOUR
Y W C A

HARRY ELMER BARNES

JEAN BELLEFEUILLE
Secretary Lowell Mass Industrial Union
Council

MRS. VICTOR L. BERGER

LEWIS ALLEN BERNE
President Federation of Architects, Engi-
neers, Chemists and Technicians

PROF. FRANZ BOAS
Chairman American Committee for
Democracy and Intellectual Freedom

REV. THEODORE BOBOLIN
Hempstead L I

E. C. DE BRAIE
President Wisconsin Federation of
Teachers A F of L

SPONSOR WALTER BURKE
President Wisconsin Industrial
Union Council

M. S. BRUCE
Editor Farmers Union News of Montana

HELENA M. CARRINGTON
National Industrial Council TWCA

Continued on
reverse side

TEMPORARY OFFICERS

August 10, 1940

CHAIRMAN
REV. JOHN B. THOMPSON
Chairman Southern Conference
on Human Welfare

TREASURER
MISS PEARL M. HART
Vice Chairman American Committee
for the Protection of Foreign Born

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MISS MARIAN BRIGGS

Dear Brother

Each day the danger of America's involve-
ment in war becomes more immediate. Yet we
all know that the American people do not want
war.

On August 31, September 1st and 2nd, more than 20,000 delegates
from all walks of life-labor, church, farm, youth, women, will ex-
press this demand in an Emergency Peace Mobilization, to be held in
Chicago over that Labor Day weekend. Prominent speakers such as
Senator Nye, Senator Clark, Paul Robeson, Dr. Townsend and many others
will participate, indicating the breadth and sweep of this movement.

In this mobilization, the American people will insist that the
best defense is to keep out of war. They will express their determi-
nation to protect labor standards, social welfare, civil liberties,
and their opposition to any attempt at regimentation through con-
scription.

Surely we in the railroad industry know from bitter experience
what attacks are made during wartime on labor's hard won standards,
its right to organize. We believe the labor movement has a great
stake in the success of this Mobilization, which represents above
all the working people of this country.

This movement has no bankers or munitions manufacturers behind
it. Its money must come from those of us who want to keep America
out of war. As representative of railway labor, we appeal to you to
do what you can. No matter how small send us your contribution. It
will help mobilize America for peace.

M. Gottfried, Vice Pres., Union Aesn. Retired R.R. Employees
J. R. Quid, Ch. Engr., Lodge 405, Brotherhood of Loco. Engrs.
John L. Feldkerchner, Secy, Lodge #191, Brotherhood of R.R. Trainmen
T. E. Casey, Asst. Ch. Conductor, Order of R.R. Conductors, Div. #46

MOBILIZE FOR PEACE • CHICAGO, AUGUST 31-SEPT. 2

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 25

(Part 2)

THOMAS E. CASEY Sec., Wisconsin State Conference on Social Legislation	QUENTIN F. GORE Editor, The Southern News Almanac	DR. METZ LOCHARD Editor, The Chicago Defender	BEID ROBINSON President, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
HAROLD CHRISTOFFEL President, Milwaukee County Industrial Union Council	HON. MICHAEL GRATT Member of the Board of Aldermen, Bridgeport, Conn.	ROBERT MORRIS LOVETT	GEORGE SEIDES Author
RABBI JED COHEN Los Angeles, California	GERALD HARRIS Alabama Farmers' Union	REV. EUGENE W. LYMAN Union Theological Seminary	DR. FERDINAND SCHEVILL Professor Emeritus, University of Chicago
PHILIP M. CONNELLY Los Angeles, Ind. Union Council	DR. MARIAN HATHAWAY Executive Secretary, American Association of Schools of Social Work	ELMER MARTY Secretary, Waukegan Trades and Labor Council, A. F. of L., Wisconsin	CHARLES SCHWISO, JR. Secretary, Pelly Mountain Region, Student Christian Movement
REV. E. H. COMFORT Dean of the School of Religion, Norman, Oklahoma	MRS. AYLINA HATMAN Graftonburg Farmers Union, Wisconsin	CLIFFORD T. MACVOT Deputy Welfare Commissioner, New York, N. Y.	JESSICA SCOTT Ashland Place TWCA, Brooklyn
DR. ABRAHAM CRONBACH Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati	GORDON M. MEY Wisconsin State Employees Assn., AFL	D. J. MCCARTY Secretary Treasurer, International Woodworkers of America	REV. BURTON SHEPPARD Milwaukee, Wisconsin
JOSEPH CURRAN President, National Maritime Union	REV. ROBERT S. MOGLAND Fort Wayne, Ind.	REV. JAMES W. MCKNIGHT	REV. H. M. SMITH Chicago Baptist Institute
MARGERY DALLEY Sec. Louisiana Farmers Union	MICHAEL HOWARD United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America	JACK McMICHAEL Chairman, American Youth Congress	MASON SMITH Waco Messenger, Waco, Texas
DR. HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts	ELLIOTT JACOBS Pres., National Association of Medical Students	MAT. MEEHAN Secy., Int. Longshoremen's and Warehouse Men's Union	REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy
JEROME DAVIS Secy. Wash. State Ind. Union Council	MRS. FAITH JEFFERSON JONES Etc. Secy., Industrial Union Council, Lansing, Michigan	REV. O. L. MERRITT Simpson Methodist Church, Milwaukee, Wis.	A. E. STEVENSON Secretary, Cleveland Industrial Union Council
HON. CHARLES C. DIGGES State Senator, Michigan	MRS. G. S. JONES Etc. Secy., Industrial Union Council, Lansing, Michigan	MRS. ALBERT MILLER Pres., Associated Farm Women of Kansas	"WILLIAM L. STRAUSS" Department of Government, University of Texas
REV. MALCOLM COTTON DOBBS Executive Secretary, League of Young Southerners	REGIS KENNEDY President, Student Board, Columbia University	MRS. LUCY SPRAGUE MITCHELL President, Cooperative School for Teachers	EDWARD I. STRONG Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress
CHARLES DORANIE Miami, Florida	ROCKWELL KENT	J. CARRELL MORRIS President, Christian Youth Council of North America	DR. D. J. STRIUK Massachusetts Institute of Technology
THEODORE DREISER	MABEL HOUK KING Executive Secretary, Far Eastern Student Service Fund	REV. JAMES K. MORSE Mackinac, N. J.	KATHERINE TERRILL Council for Social Action of the Christian & Congregational Church
J. T. DUDLEY Secy. Treas. Sacramento, Calif., Industrial Union Council	FLEMING C. KITRELL Dean of Women, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	GEORGE MURPHY, JR. National Association for the Advance- ment of Colored People	REV. JOHN B. THOMPSON Norman, Oklahoma
NAOMI ELLISON Chairman, National Industrial Assembly, YWCA	JOHN V. ELABOUCHE Sec. Associated Czech Societies, Milwaukee, Wis.	GEORGE NELSON President, Wisconsin Farmers Equity Union	JIM TULLY Author
JULIUS ELSPAK Secretary Treasurer, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America	REV. OWEN A. RHOE Chairman, National Civil Rights Conference	EDWARD NESTINGEN Chairman, Peace Commission, National Intercollegiate Christian Council	OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD Thamston, Connecticut
GOLDIE F. ERVIN Phila. Council, National Negro Congress	HARRY KOGER President, Cotton States Council, United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing and Allied Workers of America	REV. EVERETT PALMER Highland Park, New Jersey	EDA LOU WALTON New York University
REV. RAYMOND H. EWING Milwaukee, Wis.	MRS. MARY O. KRYSAK Pres., Polish Women's Alliance, Milwaukee, Wis.	MRS. EUNICE PETERSON California State Grange	T. D. WANGEMANN President, Parent Teachers Assn., West Allis, Wisconsin
ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET YARDS FISHER	ALFRED G. LABBE Buffalo Union Leader, Buffalo, N. Y.	MARNET MCKEENS National Business and Professional Council, YWCA	MORRIS WATSON American Newspaper Guild
ABRAHAM FLAXER President, State, County and Municipal Workers of America	PROFESSOR OLIVER LARKIN Smith College	HARPER POULSON Executive Secretary, United Student Peace Committee	REV. HORACE WHITE Detroit, Michigan
ISHMAEL FLOTT Chicago Council, National Negro Congress	REVEREND JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP Brooklyn, New York	DR. D. W. PRALL Department of Philosophy, Harvard University	PROF. DOXEY A. WILKERSON Howard University
REV. STEPHEN M. FRITCHMAN Executive Director, American Youth Commission	HOWARD LEE Executive Secretary, Southern Conference on Human Welfare	MICHAEL QUILL President, Transport Workers Union of America	REV. CLAUDE C. WILLIAMS Little Rock, Arkansas
MICHAEL GALAZAN Executive Director, Jewish Vocational Service, Milwaukee, Wis.	F. E. LENOX Farmers Union, Ohio	PROFESSOR WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH Columbia University	SIDNEY WILLIAMS Urban League, St. Louis, Mo.
JOSEPH F. GELDERS Birmingham, Alabama	KENNETH LESLIE Editor, The Protestant Digest	REV. JAMES ROBINSON President, Youth Section, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	REV. EDWIN H. WILSON Chicago, Illinois
C. Q. GILSON YMCA, New York	THELMA LINE YWCA, Baltimore, Maryland		HUGH WILSON Secy., Sullivan County Industrial Union Council
LEONARD GOLDSMITH Exec. Secy., New Jersey Industrial Union Council			COL. CHARLES ESKRINE SCOTT WOOD June WOOSTER Industrial Secretary, Y Evanston, Ill.
			DR. MAX YERGAN Chairman, National Negro Congress
			WINIFRED WYCAL

These individuals signed in purely personal capacities. Their organizations are listed for identification only.

Mr. KUNZIG. And I shall read, to give information to the witness, that this Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War, a specific committee so named, was cited by—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. KUNZIG. Just a moment.

Mr. KUNZIG. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This information—

Mr. KUNZIG. After Stalin signed his pact with Hitler, the Communist-led Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War came forth to oppose the national defense program, lend-lease, conscription, and other "warmongering" efforts. It initiated the Ameri-

can Peace Mobilization. It was so cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities.

The California Committee on Un-American Activities said:

Cited as "inspired and dominated by the Communist Party" and "created for the purpose of assisting Hitler during his pact with Stalin." It "cooperated with the German-American Bund to keep the United States from assisting Great Britain, France, and China" and it "preceded immediately the launching of the American Peace Mobilization."

Those are official citations, sir, as listed in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, if that is true, if that citation is accurate I couldn't possibly have been sponsor because I am very much against some of the things he read there.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you now deny that you were a sponsor of that organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I don't deny that. I simply say if that is true, sir, if that citation is accurate—I have no information on the organization that it was trying to help Hitler, and all that.

Mr. JACKSON. But as of this moment you neither confirm nor deny—

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right, the same as before.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. Proceed, counsel.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I only know that stated things that I have opposed, and I am on record as having opposed, that is all, so I couldn't have given my name to it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you still have a copy, the photostatic copy of the letterhead—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I never saw it, did I? I'll see; I'll look. I think I handed you that, Mr. Kunzig.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, while we are waiting, there are a couple of dates I want to clear up, if possible.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Where did you say you attended the university?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Emory University.

Mr. SCHERER. Emory University?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right.

Mr. SCHERER. Where is that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is a Methodist school in Georgia, right out of Atlanta.

Mr. SCHERER. And from what years to what years?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I entered in 1933 and concluded in 1937. That is why this statement here is not only libelous and obviously represents perjury because he states I was a member of the Young Communist League and I couldn't have been.

Mr. JACKSON. The decision as to perjury committed and when and where are not within the purview of this committee but other agencies of this Government.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I hope they will take into consideration that point.

Mr. SCHERER. Where were you living?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Quitman, Ga., was my home, but I was living at Emory University at the Sigma Epsilon fraternity house.

Mr. SCHERER. During those years were you ever out of the State of Georgia?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Was I ever out of the State of Georgia?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, in the year of—yes, the answer to that is “Yes,” because I was active in the YMCA, and we had in North Carolina every year in the summer, at Blue Ridge, a conference, Students’ Christian Conference, that brought the YMCA and YWCA from college campus—

Mr. JACKSON. Very well; you have answered the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wasn’t confined to Georgia; I was not under arrest.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, how long were your vacation periods during the 4 years?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The normal vacation period.

Mr. SCHERER. And during any of that time were you in the State of New York?

Reverend McMICHAEL. During any of that time was I in New York?

Mr. SCHERER. While you were at Emory University were you in the State of New York?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, the National Intercollegiate Christian Council meetings that I attended must have been held in New York. I could check on that.

Mr. SCHERER. Must have been?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Were you in New York City on a number of occasions during the time you were in school?

Reverend McMICHAEL. What particular ones?

Mr. SCHERER. I am not asking about any particular times; I am asking whether or not you were in New York City during the time when you were a student at Emory?

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not in the period this gentleman talks about—

Mr. SCHERER. I am not talking about what that gentleman talks about—

Reverend McMICHAEL. That was quoted to me.

Mr. SCHERER. I am talking about the time you were a student at Emory University.

Reverend McMICHAEL. In the final year, in my senior year at Emory University I was chairman of the National Student YMCA, and that was the year that began in September of 1937, you see, and—

Mr. SCHERER. That isn’t my question, whether you were chairman of the YMCA. My question was, were you ever in New York City during the period that you were at Emory University?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The only knowledge that I have of that would follow the September of 1937 when there would be committee meetings in New York, I am sure, of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, that would have been a matter of a few hours for these committee meetings.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you now deny that you were in New York City at any other time than September 1937, during the time you were at Emory University?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I don’t deny that.

Mr. SCHERER. How many other times were you there?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, my dear sir, I can't answer a question like that. That is quite impossible.

Mr. SCHERER. Quite often?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; not quite often at all.

Mr. SCHERER. You were there at least five times?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you making a statement or asking a question?

Mr. SCHERER. I say, you were there at least five times, were you not?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know that I was there at least five times.

Mr. SCHERER. You wouldn't say that you weren't there five times?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would you say—now, listen, that is really a silly thing. If you want me to look through the year—no, because that is a different year, you see. You are talking about my period at Emory, aren't you?

Mr. SCHERER. Yes. I think everybody else in the audience realizes I am talking about the period you were at Emory.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no assurance I was there five times. I was a Phi Beta Kappa in my junior year and did academic work, so I must have spent a good deal of time at Emory, and so I couldn't have been spending time in New York City during that period. I certainly did not. If I went at all it was only to attend a meeting for the day of the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, and there will be a record about that. They must have a record of those meetings as to just what the dates are.

Mr. SCHERER. That is all.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you have some evidence I would be glad to hear it, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. I have evidence.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Present it to me. I would be glad to know what it is.

Mr. SCHERER. You answered what I wanted to know.

Mr. MOULDER. You made the statement—

Reverend McMICHAEL. What is your name, sir?

Mr. JACKSON. There is a question being addressed. This is Mr. Scherer, of Ohio; Mr. Clardy, of Michigan; Mr. Moulder, of Missouri.

Mr. MOULDER. You made the statement a few minutes ago that perjury had been committed against you on a charge made that you were a member of the Young Communist League.

Reverend McMICHAEL. In years I couldn't have been, that is right.

Mr. MOULDER. That is the point of my question. Why would it have been impossible for you to have been a member of the Young Communist League while attending school at Emory University?

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Mr. MOULDER. You make the emphatic statement it would have been impossible to be a member for that reason, because you were attending Emory University at that time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, at that time I didn't so much as know there was an organization by that name; I never had heard anything about it, and I was finishing my freshman year at Emory, and it is completely impossible from that point of view, and I was living and residing in Georgia, at Emory University, and I am charged here by Mr. Patterson as having been a member of the New York district.

Now, perhaps you know more than I do about how that organization functions, and maybe the New York district includes Georgia, but it doesn't make much sense to me to think it does.

Mr. MOULDER. My question was, You made the assertion it would be impossible for you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Absolutely impossible as they charge, on the basis of the fact of where I was and who I was, and so forth, at time.

Mr. MOULDER. Very well.

Mr. CLARDY. May I inquire?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Clardy.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Plus the fact that the two gentlemen contradict themselves as to what I was. They make contradictory charges. They can't both be right. In fact, neither one is, of course.

Mr. JACKSON. After recognition of Mr. Clardy, strike out the last 3 or 4 sentences of the witness.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, if you keep striking out things you don't have the picture.

Mr. JACKSON. If you keep on talking when the Chair is trying to recognize the members of the committee we will certainly make no headway at all.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I certainly object to striking out relevant points.

Mr. JACKSON. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan, and in the regular order of the committee he had the floor and was entitled to be heard.

It is only that portion after the chairman recognized——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not a lawyer. I don't know if I can compete with these trick questions. I will answer if I can.

Mr. CLARDY. Here is your chance.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. CLARDY. You have said that it was impossible for you to have been a member of the Young Communist League during a certain period. My question is this:

Would you now deny that you were ever a member of the Young Communist League?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I would now deny that because—and I have done that before; I have done that today.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I asked you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was never a member——

Mr. JACKSON. Continue, Mr. Counsel.

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I am interested in the fact that when they pin down when I was they make statements that are false.

Mr. JACKSON. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, we were talking about the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War, a Communist-front cited organization.

I have here McMichael exhibits Nos. 26, 27, and 28, and I would like to hand them to the witness to examine.

No. 26 is a photostatic copy of a pamphlet, Mobilize for Peace, which outlines the program for the Emergency Peace Mobilization sponsored by the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War, held in Chicago August 31 to September 2, 1940. The Reverend McMichael is listed as a sponsor.

I believe, sir, you have already said in testimony here today that you were a sponsor of that Emergency Peace Mobilization, is that correct?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have said I was there. I certainly was, and I am sure I was a sponsor on the basis of having been there. It is quite likely I was sponsor. I remember definitely being there. That came up already. I certainly remember that. I don't remember sponsoring it, but I will be confident that I did on the basis of the fact that I attended the meeting. That was the meeting that shortly preceded my wedding in that year, and I am confident this is accurate so far as my name goes. I was for peace.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you were a sponsor of this Communist-front organization—

Reverend McMICHAEL. How is that?

Mr. KUNZIG. And you were a sponsor under the auspices of this Communist-front organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Sponsor of what?

Mr. KUNZIG. Emergency Peace Mobilization, sponsored by the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Who said that was a Communist front?

Mr. KUNZIG. I read it to you. I will read it again.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No. Who said it and—

Mr. KUNZIG. I think we went through all that. That has been read into the record.¹⁹

Reverend McMICHAEL. I certainly have no awareness; I am trying to find out whereby anybody said—

Mr. JACKSON. Just a minute. The citation has been read into the record?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; it has.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was asking a question—

Mr. JACKSON. I was addressing my question to counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't think peace is subversive. That is a dangerous idea that is getting around. That is most pro-American. I don't see any of these prowar groups listed as subversive. I think the people that make lists have an inadequate perspective. They don't look at the complete picture.

Mr. JACKSON. Let me say for the record that all of the members of the committee and the staff are for peace—

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's fine.

Mr. JACKSON. And I think that reflects the opinions of the vast majority of the American people.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am sure it does.

Mr. JACKSON. You are not alone in your sincere search for peace. Continue.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence McMichael exhibit No. 26.

Mr. JACKSON. Received.

(Photostatic copy of pamphlet entitled "Mobilize for Peace," Chicago, August 31, September 1-2, 1940, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 26.)

¹⁹ See footnote 18 on p. 2742.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 26

(Part 1)



CALL TO THE EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION**Chicago — August 31, September 1 and 2, 1940***Mobilize for Peace to Defend Democratic America!*

The lengthening shadow of war creeps over our land.

Powerful voices—spreading confusion and hysteria—demand that our youth shed their blood on foreign soil. Powerful voices suggest in the name of security that we Nazify America and come to terms with Hitler.

They would exploit youth's desire to defend our country, our people, and our free institutions in order to conscript, gag, and regiment them in labor camps.

They would exploit labor's desire to defend our country, our people, and our free institutions by the stealthy application of M-Day plans in order to shackle labor and subvert our democratic rights.

Are we to permit—by silence or inaction—this destruction of everything we have struggled to build up for generations? The few who cry for war are as nothing compared to 93% of the people who want peace—if the people speak!

How are we to adjust ourselves to the cataclysmic developments in Europe and throughout the world? How are we to prevent American involvement in war? How are we to defend America and at the same time preserve our free institutions and advance our standards of living?

These are the crucial questions before the American people!

In this hour when action is imperative, we call upon all organizations of the people—labor, farm, youth, church, cooperative, fraternal—regardless of race, creed or color, to take part in an

EMERGENCY PEACE MOBILIZATION

To be held in the City of Chicago on August 31, September 1 and 2, 1940.

In this setting, we the people shall discuss this grave emergency and work out a common program to attain our common ends. Together we shall find the power in our mutual strength to achieve what we all want . . .

to defend America . . .

to keep America democratic . . .

to keep America out of war!

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 26

(Part 3)

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION

All organizations, are entitled to send delegates to the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

National organizations may send 10 delegates.

State organizations — 5 delegates.

Local organizations — 1 delegate for every 50 members.

Individuals who are deeply concerned with organization for peace are urged to attend the mobilization as Visitors.

The registration form attached is for **DELEGATES ONLY!**

All visitors will register at the scene of the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

F E E S

Delegates and Visitors:— \$1.00 for all sessions including Mass Meeting.

Information, Petitions, Posters, Additional Calls, Buttons Available at:

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND AMERICA BY KEEPING OUT OF WAR
Room 812 • 203 North Wabash Avenue • Chicago • Illinois

This credential to be presented by delegate

PLEASE PRINT ALL INFORMATION

.....		
First Name	Last Name		
.....		
Mailing Address	City	State	
.....			
Name of Organization			
.....			
No. of Members Delg. Represents	Address of Organization	City	State
.....			
Type of Organization (peace, farm, labor, etc.)	Local, State or National		Signature of Secretary
.....			
(Names of additional delegates may be attached to this credential)			

This credential to be mailed to our office

Room 812, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois

Delegates Fees \$1.00 per Delegate

PLEASE PRINT ALL INFORMATION

.....		
First Name	Last Name		
.....		
Mailing Address	City	State	
.....			
Name of Organization			
.....			
No. of Members Delg. Represents	Address of Organization	City	State
.....			
Type of Organization (peace, farm, labor, etc.)	Local, State or National		Signature of Secretary
.....			
(Names of additional delegates may be attached to this credential)			

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 26

(Part 4)

Program

REGISTRATION: Continuous from 6:00 p.m., Friday, August 30th through 12 noon Sunday, September 1st.

Saturday, August 31st	Afternoon 2:30 p.m. Business Session, Election of Committees
	Evening 8:00 p.m. MASS MEETING
Sunday, September 1st	Morning 8:30 a.m. Invocation and Religious Service
	9:30 a.m. <i>Dictatorship or Democracy</i> How war affects life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in America
	Afternoon 2:30 p.m. <i>How to Keep America Out of War</i> A discussion of our foreign policy
	Evening 8:00 p.m. Discussion and Adoption of Committee Reports
Monday, September 2nd	Morning 9:00 a.m. State and Regional Delegation Meetings
	Afternoon 2:30 p.m. <i>Mobilizing America for Peace</i>

Sponsors

(Initial Listing)

REV. GEORGE A. ACKERLY, Washington, D. C.	DR. METZ LOCHARD, Editor, The Chicago Defender
OSCAR AMERINGER, Editor, The American Guardian, Oklahoma	REV. EUGENE W. LYMAN, Union Theological Seminary
REV. WILLIAM C. ANDERSON, Bremen, Indiana	HON. VITO MARCANTONIO, Member of Congress
REV. J. CARLTON BABBS, Reynoldsburg, Ohio	B. J. MCCARTY, Secretary-Treasurer, International Woodworkers of America
PROF. ROLAND H. BANTON, Yale Divinity School	NANCY MCINERNEY, Editor, Vassar Miscellany News
DR. FRANK E. BAKER, President, Milwaukee State Teacher's College	REV. JAMES W. MCKNIGHT, Fort Wayne, Indiana
LEWIS ALLEN BERNE, President, Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians	JACK McMICHAEL Chairman, American Youth Congress
PROF. FRANZ BOAS, Chairman, American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom	MRS. ALBERT MILLER, President, Associated Farm Women of Kansas
E. C. de BRAIE, President, Wisconsin Federation of Teachers	MRS. LUCY SPRAGUE MITCHELL, President, Co-Operative School for Teachers
H. S. BRUCE, Editor, Farmers' Union News of Montana	J. CARRELL MORRIS, President, Christian Youth Council of North America
RABBI JED COHEN, Los Angeles, California	GEORGE MURPHY, JR., National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
REV. N. E. COMFORT, Dean of the School of Religion, University of Oklahoma	GEORGE NELSON, Wisconsin Farmers Union
MALCOLM COTTON DOBBS, Executive Secretary, League of Young Southerners	MRS. EUNICE PETERSON, California State Grange
DR. ABE CRONBACH, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati	HARRIET PICKENS, National Business and Professional Women's Council, Y.W.C.A.
JOSEPH CURRAN, President, National Maritime Union	DR. D. W. PRALL, Chairman, Philosophy Department, Harvard University
THEODORE DREISER	MICHAEL QUILL, President, Transport Workers Union of America
NAOMI ELLISON, Chairman, National Industrial Assembly, Y.W.C.A.	PROF. WALTER RAUTENSTRAUCH, Columbia University
JULIUS EMBSPAK, Secretary-Treasurer, United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers of America	REID ROBINSON, President, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union
VARDIS FISHER	GEORGE SELDES, Author
ABRAM FLAXER, President, State, County and Municipal Workers of America	CHARLES SCHWIESO, JR., Secretary, Rocky Mountain Region, Student Christian Movement
QUENTIN D. GORE, Editor, the Southern News Almanac	REV. BURTON SHEPPARD, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
GERALD HARRIS, Alabama Farmers' Union	REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD, Executive Secretary, Church League for Industrial Democracy
DR. MARIAN HATHAWAY, Executive Secretary, American Association of Schools of Social Work	EDWARD E. STRONG, Executive Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress
REGIS KENNEDY, President, Student Board, Columbia University	REV. JOHN B. THOMPSON, Norman, Oklahoma
FLEMMIE P. KITTRELL, Dean of Women, Bennett College, Greensboro, N. C.	JIM TULLY, Author
REV. OWEN D. KNOX, Chairman, Detroit Civil Rights Federation	EDA LOU WALTON, New York University
REV. JOHN HOWLAND LATHROP, Brooklyn, N. Y.	MORRIS WATSON, American Newspaper Guild
HOWARD LEE, Executive Secretary, Southern Conference for Human Welfare	COL. CHARLES ERSKINE SCOTT WOOD
KENNETH LESLIE, Editor, The Protestant Digest	DR. MAX YERGAN, Chairman, National Negro Congress

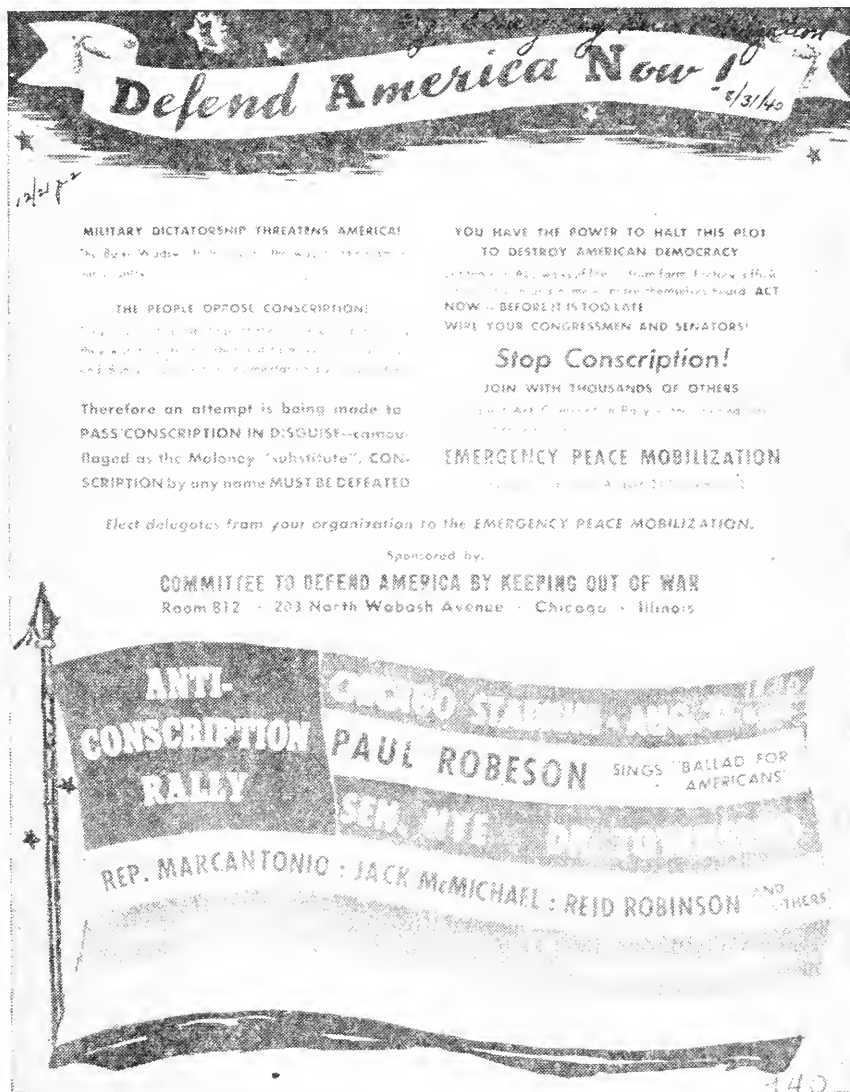
These individuals signed in purely personal capacities. Their organizations are listed for identification only.

Mr. KUNZIG. McMichael exhibit No. 27 is a photostatic copy of leaflet entitled "Defend America Now," sponsored by the Committee To Defend America by Keeping Out of War, announcing an anticonscription rally in Chicago, the same rally of August 31, 1940, which is further documentary proof, listing Reverend McMichael among the speakers. I offer it in evidence.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was against conscription, and most church groups are against conscription, as far as that goes.

Mr. JACKSON. Received.

(Photostatic copy of leaflet entitled "Defend America Now," August 31, 1940, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 27.)



Mr. KUNZIG. I offer McMichael exhibit No. 28, which the witness has already examined, a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker, dated August 31, 1940, listing Jack McMichael scheduled to speak at the mobilization—

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I see that?

Mr. KUNZIG. I handed it to you, but I will hand it to you again.

Mr. JACKSON. Received.

(Photostatic copy of the Daily Worker, dated August 31, 1940, pp. 1 and 4, article, Delegates from All America Pour in to Peace Parley, was received in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 28.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 28

(Daily Worker, August 31, 1940, pp. 1 and 4)

DELEGATES FROM ALL AMERICA POUR IN TO PEACE PARLEY

OPENS TODAY IN CHICAGO'S HUGE STADIUM

Mass Rally Tonight to hear Marcantonio; Robeson to Sing

By Art Shields (Daily Worker staff correspondent)

CHICAGO, AUG. 30.—The voice America will be raised against war and militarism at the greatest peace conference in American history, which opens at Chicago Stadium at noon tomorrow.

Many thousands of delegates and many thousands of visitors will be present at the Emergency Peace Mobilization from almost every state in the Union.

Meeting from Saturday till early Monday afternoon the peace delegates will lay plans for effectively continuing the fight for peace when they return to their homes. Definite plans for continuing the fight for peace in an organized way will be made, delegates said.

Thousands of Chicagoans and delegates are expected to pack the huge Chicago stadium tomorrow night to hear Rep. Vito Marcantonio and Dr. Francis Townsend, leader of the old-age pension movement. Paul Robeson, world-famous Negro singer, will lead a chorus of 200 voices in the "Ballad for Americans" at the giant peace rally.

Huge peace slogans—the handiwork of the artists union—hang around the great Chicago auditorium, telling the people to "Keep America Out of the War," to "Defend America by Protecting Civil Liberties" and calling for "a job not a gun."

Keynote Speech

And the slogan "Mobilize for Peace," will face the delegates in ten foot high letters rising from the platform.

Delegates arriving for the great conference say that they will profit from the lessons of the vigorous People's Council of World War No. 1, which failed to lay solid plans for the future at its Chicago meeting in September 1917.

The keynote speech, which will indicate the direction the conference plans will probably take, will be made a few minutes after the conference opens by the Rev. John B. Thompson of Norman, Oklahoma, chairman of the Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War (otherwise known as the Emergency Peace Mobilization).

Rev. Thompson, who expresses the anti-war sentiments of the masses of people of the western plains, is a vital force in the fight for Peace.

Vito Marcantonio, Representative in Congress from East Harlem, New York, and Frank Fries, an Illinois Representative, will speak later in the conference—Marcantonio Saturday night at 10:30 and Representative Fries Saturday afternoon at 3.

Paul Robeson's mighty baritone voice will give the delegates a treat Saturday night as he sings the "Ballad for Americans" and "Ain't Gwine to Study War No More" and "Old Man River."

Labor Delegates

Core of the vast assemblage tomorrow will be several thousand trade union delegates. At least a third of the delegates are from the hundreds of local unions and the many trade union councils and the various national unions represented at the conference.

Prominent among these trade union delegates will be the automobile and aircraft workers, the transport, maritime, woodworking, mining and other unions.

National leaders of some of these unions will be major speakers at the conference. Among them will be—

Joseph Curran, president, the National Maritime Union (Saturday afternoon);

Michael Quill, president, the Transport Workers Union (Sunday afternoon);

Reid Robinson, president, the International Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (Saturday afternoon);

Lewis Merrill, president, the United Office & Professional Workers (Saturday afternoon);

And Frank Ingram, secretary-treasurer of the Workers' Alliance, will speak for America's unemployed (Saturday afternoon).

From the State of North Dakota, whose Senator, Gerald P. Nye (along with Senator Clark of Idaho), left the conference at the last moment, comes State Senator Charles Fine, who also is chairman of the board of directors of the North Dakota Farmers Union. He speaks Saturday afternoon.

Youth will speak Saturday night through the vivid personality of Jack McMichael, chairman of the American Youth Congress.

Old age will be represented by Dr. Francis E. Townsend, founder of the Townsend pensions plan, speaking at the same session.

Memories of the profiteers' rule and government terror during the war of 1917 and 1918, will be given that night by Oscar Ameringer, editor of the American Guardian, of Oklahoma City.

John P. Davis, secretary of the National Negro Congress, speaks the same evening.

Dr. Max Yergan, professor of Negro history at the College of the City of New York, speaks Sunday morning.

So does Rabbi Moses Miller, head of the National Jewish Peoples Committee.

There are many other distinguished speakers.

The conference will be opened tomorrow noon by Pearl Hart, treasurer of the Emergency Peace Mobilization.

Cochairman with her will be Harvey O'Connor, author of "Mellon's Millions" and chairman of the Chicago Peace Federation.

Rev. George Williams, pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal Church of Chicago, delivers the invocation.

After Reverend Thompson's keynote speech, Rev. Owen A. Knox of Detroit, chairman of the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, will deliver a report on the tasks involved in "Defending Democracy at Home."

Floor Discussion

There will be discussions from the floor and special church, farm, and labor panel group meetings.

Plans for permanent action will be adopted at the closing session Monday, when permanent officers will be elected.

It's a pleasure to talk to the delegates arriving in Chicago for the mighty Emergency Peace Mobilization conference that opens at the Stadium today.

Southern schoolteachers, miners, tenant farmers, steel workers; Pacific coast seamen, writers, movie men, loggers; Midwest auto workers, packinghouse workers, corn-and-hog farmers; men and women from the offices and factories of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia—they are coming in every hour to take part in the biggest peace demonstration this country has seen.

They are here to organize a national peace movement and then go back to their homes to build the peace movement at home.

Southern Delegates

The 250 and more Southern delegates are a refreshing contrast to the bitter old Tories I heard appealing for conscription in the Senate debates at Washington last week. These bitter old Tories are not the people—they are not

elected by the masses of the people, but by the small percentage of the electorate who can pay poll taxes.

But the 30 Negro and 30 white delegates from Birmingham—they are the people, whom Abraham Lincoln would have loved * * * These steel workers, miners, and evicted cotton farmers—they are the people.

Abraham Lincoln would have loved a man like Gerald (?) Harris, vice president of the Farmers Union in Alabama, a muscular dark man in his early forties, who comes here to speak for peace. He's a fighter for peace. He went to Washington this month with a Labor's Non Partisan League delegation to ask his Senators and Representatives to vote against conscription, and the Birmingham police locked him up when he returned. Now he's out and up here to carry the fight, which the Senators fudged, to the American people themselves.

Every Southern State is represented here—every State of old Dixie from the banks of the Potomac to the banks of the Rio Grande. The Southern people want peace, despite the warmongers like Connally, of Texas, and Carter Glass, of Virginia.

"Don't forget that the Southern people had no chance to vote against conscription in the Senate this week," said Malcolm Cotton Dobbs, young Texan and Executive Secretary of the League of Young Southerners, who is taking a leading part in the peace fight.

"The vast majority of the Southern people," continued Dobbs, "are disfranchised by the poll taxes. They had no voice in choosing the Senators who voted to militarize America. Many of the delegates who came here can't vote. * * * But they are here to show the world that they want peace, and their wishes must not be disregarded."

Negro Delegates

Very striking is the militant attitude of the hundred or more Negro delegates from the South—CIO steel workers, coal miners, and tenant farmers.

Burned into the minds of the Negro delegates is the terrible betrayal of World War No. 1. They tell how they were promised social and political rights if they helped win the war. * * * They tell what happened next, how the Wilson government jim-crowded them in black regiments under white officers. * * * How the Government used them for the dirtiest and most dangerous work * * * and how they came home to be lynched and shot up in the "race riots" of 1919.

The Negroes cannot forget. * * * They cannot forget while lynchings go on. * * * One reminded me of two more murders by Alabama police just recently, one in the Tennessee coal and iron town of Fairfield, near Birmingham.

The people behind those murders are the people behind conscription and war. Vanguard delegates from the Pacific coast—with hundreds to follow—arrive every hour.

Twenty loggers and lumbermill workers from the CIO woodworkers' union in the Pacific Northwest and seamen and fishermen and professional men and farm workers are arriving from the coast.

"Seamen know that war will smash every condition they have won by years of struggle unless they prevent it," said Walter Stack, an officer of the Marine Firemen's and Oilers' in San Francisco, and a trustee of the Maritime Federation.

A National Maritime Union delegate from Philadelphia said the same thing.

Hundreds of CIO automobile workers are coming here today to fight against M-day.

A hundred delegates are arriving from Flint, Mich., the busiest automobile factory town in the country.

Hundreds more are arriving from Detroit, Cleveland, Toledo, and other motor cities.

M-day would revive the Black Legion terror movement in Michigan—that's one reason why at least 500 or 600 delegates will be present from the Peninsula State.

Settlement House workers will be there with other professionals, for the Reverend Jones, chairman of the Settlement House Association of Detroit, has asked all settlement houses to be represented at the Chicago Stadium's peace conference.

Delegates from Minnesota and Wisconsin would more than fill an Army battalion. From Duluth, Minn., for instance are arriving Finnish-Americans, Swedish-Americans, and many other kinds of Americans. They represent the Duluth CIO Council and local CIO unions; the Duluth Peace Council, the Youth Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and other groups.

A goodly block of seats will be filled by the delegates from Minneapolis and St. Paul, with farmers from the country around sitting with them.

Farmers' Union men in Minnesota and many other places are warmly cooperating.

CIO packinghouse workers from Austin, Minn., are also taking part in the move in Chicago against M-day.

Carload after carload of Wisconsin delegates are driving the Badger State's mark up toward the 700 or more fighters for peace that field organizers for the Emergency Peace Mobilization have promised.

The Peace Conference has been well advertised at county fairs and in many meetings.

Crude attempts by some Socialist Party leaders to sabotage the antiwar conference with cries that it was "red" were spiked at a recent press conference in Milwaukee, in which Mrs. Meta Berger, widow of the late Victor Berger, and the chairman of the Ministers Association of Milwaukee took part.

The Ministers' Association representative told newspapermen that he was advising affiliated clergymen to take part in this movement for peace.

The Committee to Defend America By Keeping Out of War today also made public an exchange of letters between it and Senators Gerald P. Nye and D. Worth Clark on the withdrawal of the two Senators from the mobilization.

AUGUST 28.

"Rev. JOHN B. THOMPSON, *Chairman,*

Committee to Defend America By Keeping Out of War,
203 North Wabash Street, Chicago, Ill.

Our sympathies are with each and every individual and collective effort to break this march of our country into war. We know that you and many of the fine sponsors have but one purpose you are serving. But we do not see how with the division as seems to prevail with respect to the Chicago meeting we could contribute to the fine cause of keeping out of war. Please excuse us from the plans made for us to address the conference Saturday night. And understand please that we are not reflecting in the least upon you and the many fine people whose names appear as sponsors of the conference. Sincerest regrets.

Signed,

Senator GERALD P. NYE.
Senator D. WORTH CLARK.

AUGUST 29.

Senator GERALD P. NYE,
Senator D. WORTH CLARK,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

It is tragic that at this time certain people who place petty grudges and unfounded suspicions above the great task of stopping conscription and involvement in war should have prevailed upon you. It is a matter of deep personal regret to me and a disappointment to many others that you who have been such an inspiration to the peace forces should yield to such pressure in a time of grave crisis. This will be a source of great satisfaction to those groups whom you and I know to be leading us toward war.

There are times when it is easy to work for those things which you and I hold dear. There are times such as 1917 and today when peace itself is suspect. It is in such times that we must stand together despite all efforts to divide us. The emergency peace mobilization will bring together for the first time farm and labor movements, old age and youth, church, and woman groups. It is the only national medium for the expression of the will of our people to stay at peace that is of sufficient magnitude to be effective. Those who attack it are purposely or unwittingly giving aid and comfort to the forces who would stifle democracy in our country and jeopardize its peace. I know that is not your intention.

I pray that it may not be the effect of your decision. The Emergency Peace Mobilization will give tremendous impetus to those ideas which you have held and I am sure that you will rejoice with me in its success.

(Signed) JOHN B. THOMPSON,
Chairman, Committee to Defend America by Keeping Out of War."

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the end of the exhibits dealing with the Committee to Defend American by Keeping Out of War.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any estimate of the amount of time which may be required for the completion of this hearing or the number of exhibits still remaining to be——

Mr. KUNZIG. There are quite a few exhibits, Mr. Chairman. I certainly think it would take at least all tomorrow morning and perhaps into the afternoon.

Mr. JACKSON. I understand that the witness and counsel can be present tomorrow morning?

Mr. DONNER. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I have to preach from the pulpit in this church and they have taken me away from my pastoral calling and visiting the bereaved and the sick, and so forth, for all of this stuff.

Of course, I could give you all that information from there. If you want to know, I could look it up and give you the information.

Mr. JACKSON. The important thing is to know whether or not you can be here tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Reverend McMICHAEL. To know whether I can? I have to be; I am under subpena.

Mr. JACKSON. We would like to accommodate you insofar as possible.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not thinking of myself but of the congregation of people who called me and are standing by me. They need a pastor up there.

Mr. JACKSON. I am sure the committee is interested in finding out your answers to these various things and allegations, and——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am perfectly willing to answer all these things.

Mr. JACKSON. And they probably will find it possible to get along for a couple of days.

The subcommittee will stand in adjournment until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5:10 p. m., the hearing was adjourned until 10 a. m., Friday, July 31, 1953.)

HEARINGS REGARDING JACK R. McMICHAEL

FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1953

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 10:20 a. m., in the Caucus Room, 362 Old House Office Building, Hon. Harold H. Velde, chairman, presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter (appearance noted in transcript), Morgan M. Moulder (appearance noted in transcript), and Clyde Doyle.

Staff members present: Robert L. Kunzig, counsel; Frank S. Tavenner, Jr., counsel; Thomas W. Beale, Sr., chief clerk; Raphael I. Nixon, director of research; James A. Andrews, Earl L. Fuoss, George C. Williams, and George E. Cooper, investigators; Leslie C. Scott, research analyst; Mrs. Juliette Joray, assistant to the chief clerk; and Kathryn Zimmerman, staff representative.

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order, please.

Mr. Reporter, let the record show present are Mr. Jackson, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Doyle, and the chairman, a quorum of the full committee.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF REV. JACK R. McMICHAEL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, FRANK J. DONNER—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have here a document, which is marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 29" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of October 8, 1940, page 2, containing an article stating that Jack McMichael was a speaker on October 7, 1940, at a meeting of the Columbia University chapter of the American Student Union.

The American Student Union,²⁰ Mr. Chairman, is a cited organization.

The article purports to say that McMichael was denouncing Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's assault on academic freedom, which was the time that Dr. Butler got rid of some teachers and professors after the Rapp-Coudert report and investigation in New York.

I hand you this document, Reverend McMichael, and ask you whether you did attend this meeting and whether you were a speaker at this meeting of the American Student Union, a cited organization.

²⁰ See footnote 8 on p. 2652.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Like Jesus, who addressed the cited Pharisees and sinners, I've also had the position of witnessing to my convictions before groups—

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Simple though they may have been.

Mr. VELDE. The question, Reverend McMichael, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

And in view of the fact that Dr. Butler had stated that academic freedom does not apply to students, specifically for that reason I did make a speech on behalf of academic freedom to the group.

Mr. KUNZIG. So, you did attend this meeting of the Columbia University chapter of the American Student Union?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I did speak at Columbia.

Mr. KUNZIG. At that meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; at that meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. At that meeting.

Reverend McMICHAEL. In the same way Jesus spoke at meetings of Pharisees and publicans and sinners.

Mr. SCHERER. Can't we leave Jesus out—

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's a little hard for me to leave Jesus out. You may be able to do it—

Mr. SCHERER. In a situation like this?

Reverend McMICHAEL. But I can't. In a situation like this, where guilt by association seems to be the principle on which you are operating rather than an analysis of the activities itself, I am sure He would have long ago been haled before this committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. A man is also known by the company he keeps.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Then Jesus was a wine drinker, glutton, and sinner, according to the people who have said that and what you have said today—you know men by the company they keep.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer this exhibit into evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 29.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted.

(The photostatic copy of p. 2 of the October 8, 1940, edition of the Daily Worker article, "Butler Drives Youth to War," Says AYC Leader," was marked and received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 29.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 29

(Daily Worker, October 8, 1940, p. 2)

BUTLER DRIVES YOUTH TO WAR, SAYS AYC LEADER

Tells Students of Columbia "Eyes of Nation" are on Them, Calls for Firm Answer to Butler's "March-or-Resign" Speech at University

Denouncing Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler's assault on academic freedom as a move to drive the youth of the Nation into war, Jack McMichael, chairman of the American Youth Congress, called upon the students of Columbia University to put up a real fight in defense of our democratic rights.

Speaking before several hundred students yesterday afternoon at a meeting of the American Students Union, the youthful leader said, "This is totalitarianism. This 'take it or leave it' attitude of Dr. Butler must be answered unequivocally. The eyes of the nation are on you. The right of students and faculty to think for themselves must be protected. No college head speaking for a board of trustees can stop the voice of truth, of research, of analysis. It is for this that our forefathers fought and died."

McMichael pointed out that the Butler affair was no longer a local issue. It has become part of the fight for civil rights and minority political opinion.

"This is a national issue, a test case. If reaction is successful here, every campus will be overrun with war hysteria. The problem has been posed for everyone attending school, whether he be student or instructor. The American people must also answer as they always have in favor of democratic institutions. "I am sure that Columbia students will not be found wanting."

Reads British Resolution

The audience made up of students and some faculty members listened attentively as he read a resolution passed by the students of England in defense of their civil rights during the war period. He described the manifestations of war hysteria on various American college campuses. He explained the difference between the real defense of a nation's freedom, as is now taking place in China, and the false and reactionary cry for "defense" now being made in governmental, industrial, and academic circles.

In the meanwhile, the ASU is handing out petitions on the campus outlining a student's bill of rights. The petition reads: "We the undersigned, believing that freedom of thought, enquiry, and action are essential to the successful functioning of our democracy, wish to make clear in view of Dr. Butler's recent statements, the precise extent of our rights on these issues. We believe that the university exists for the benefit of student and faculty members and has no other aims than those which on the basis of their considered convictions they freely subscribe.

"We believe in (1) the right of all students to express their beliefs on any subject whatsoever without interference or fear of intimidation; (2) the right of students to hear speakers of their own choosing; (3) the right of students to enquire freely into all matters and to form conclusions without interference; (4) the right of students to act on their beliefs and to join any organization without fear of reprisals."

8 teachers challenge

Since Butler's address, eight Columbia professors, including three department heads, two former presidents of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and a Nobel prize winner have challenged the president's edict to accept his pro-war stand and "get out" in an open letter. Two college professors have joined the dissent of Butler's war inciting statements. Leaders in government circles, cultural, academic and political figures have protested Butler's attack on student and faculty.

A mass protest meeting will be held on every campus in the country this Thursday by the American Students Union to help keep this country out of war and protect academic freedom from future attack by Wall Street university presidents.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the date of the meeting be fixed and the date on which the organization was cited be fixed.²¹

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. I think both the date of the meeting at which the witness spoke and the date on which the organization was cited are important.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The grandson of Woodrow Wilson——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that is all right.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, I'm sorry.

That would be a helpful procedure——

Mr. VELDE. Please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. In all of these cases.

Mr. KUNZIG. We will bring that out in various cases.

As I read before from the Daily Worker of October 8, 1940, that meeting took place on October 7, 1940.

²¹ See footnote 8 on p. 2652.

All of this is already in the record, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I am sorry.

Mr. KUNZIG. And I will now read the date of the citation—and let it be perfectly clear, so that we understand, when the Attorney General or any organization or any congressional committee cites an organization, it is not because of activities of that organization the day before or the day of the actual citation; but let the record be clear that it is because of the activities of the organization in the period prior to the citation. Obviously that is the reason—

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's not the activities—

Mr. KUNZIG. The organization was cited.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Spoken of at that meeting. There is a difference.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, he is talking.

Mr. KUNZIG. The American Student Union was cited as a Communist front which was the result of a united-front gathering of young Socialists and Communists in 1937. The Young Communist League took credit for creation of the above, and the union offered free trips to Russia. The above claims to have lead as many as 500,000 students out in annual April 22 strikes in the United States.

It was cited then by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1939; also in 1940, 1942, and 1944.

It was cited by the Massachusetts committee in 1938, Mr. Doyle, sir.

It was cited by the Rapp-Coudert committee in 1941 and by the special committee of the House Committee on Appropriations in 1943.

So, you will note that some of those citations were prior to the date of this meeting in 1940, sir.

This was, then, a cited—publicly cited—Communist-front group prior to the time that this witness spoke.

Mr. DOYLE. Whatever the record is, that is what we should have.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Let me make clear—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute here.

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). That the minister—

Mr. VELDE. There is no question—

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). Is not cited.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And he was not a member of the organization.

Let there be no implication I was a member, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have here a document, marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 30," for identification, which is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of February 6, 1941, listing Jack McMichael as one of the sponsors of the American Rescue Ship Mission—the American Rescue Ship Mission, which would carry Spanish refugees from Casablanca, French Morocco, to Vera Cruz, Mexico.

I hand you this document.

And, of course, Mr. Chairman, the American Rescue Ship Mission²² is a cited Communist-front organization.

²² American Rescue Ship Mission:

1. Cited as Communist, and "a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee" (Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released July 25, 1949).

Mr. VELDE. Will you give the citation, please?

Mr. KUNZIG. It was cited as Communist and a project of the United American Spanish Aid Committee²³ by Attorney General Tom Clark—letter to the Loyalty Review Board in 1949.

It was cited as an enterprise of the Communist United American Spanish Aid Committee by the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have the latter date of the California Un-American Activities Committee citation?

Mr. KUNZIG. The California date is 1948, Mr. Chairman.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

The question is, since I have not yet asked a question, Reverend McMichael: Were you a sponsor of the American Rescue Ship Mission, as is listed in exhibit 30?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Along with the Eisenhower Republican, Louis Bromfield, and the president of the American Law Institute and the president of the Smith College, and many other distinguished educators and religious leaders, it appears, from this document, that on behalf of this humanitarian cause of saving lives of people, who, after all, are loved by God, I signed this, though I have no recollection of it. It seems to me to have been a worthy cause.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, I doubt if the various people you mentioned will be found, Reverend McMichael, on all the organizations that you are found on.

Reverend McMICHAEL. As the dean—

Mr. KUNZIG. That is the point.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of the Washington Cathedral said the other day, "God is my judge, not the Un-American Activities Committee, or the Attorney General."

Mr. JACKSON. Let it be perfectly clear we are not attempting to judge you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, instead of asking questions—

Mr. JACKSON. We are seeking information.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He seems to be trying very hard to make accusations.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Instead of asking questions, he is making accusations constantly.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). This exhibit in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 30.

Mr. VELDE. It will be received in evidence at this point.

(The photostatic copy of the article concerning the Spanish Rescue Mission, from the February 6, 1941, edition of the Daily Worker, was marked and received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 30.")

²³ United American Spanish Aid Committee:

1. Cited as Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released July 25, 1949).

2. "In 1937-1938, the Communist Party threw itself wholeheartedly into the campaign for the support of the Spanish Loyalist cause, recruiting men and organizing multifarious so-called relief organizations." Among these was the above Communist front (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 82 and 138).

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 30

(Daily Worker, February 6, 1941)

SPAIN RESCUE MISSION SIGNS CONTRACT FOR REFUGEE SHIP

S. S. Lorcen Will Sail for Morocco Feb. 26, Says Dr. Barsky

WILL CARRY 450

MEXICAN GOV'T READY TO RECEIVE THEM HIDALGO WIRES

By Art Shelds

The American Rescue Ship Mission yesterday signed a contract for a ship to carry Spanish refugees from Casablanca, French Morocco to Vera Cruz, Mexico.

Dr. Edward K. Barsky, chairman of the United American Spanish Aid Societies announced at a press conference last night that the *S. S. Lorcen*, of 3,500 tons displacement, had been provided by the Central American Navigation Co. of Panama for the trip.

The *S. S. Lorcen* is now lying at Pier 1, the municipal dock at the tip of Manhattan, said Dr. Barsky. It has a Lloyd's certificate of safety. Built in 1911, it was reconditioned in 1936.

It returned from a West Indian passenger cruise last week.

The Rescue Ship will sail from New York about Feb. 26 or 27 for Casablanca to take aboard about 450 Spanish refugees.

More Trips Expected

Options have been signed for two more trips, said Dr. Barsky.

"We hope the ship can make as many trips as possible," said the Spanish Aid Societies chairman. "We believe the American people will give the fullest support. We know the American people want to save the refugees from the misery and hopelessness of the Moroccan camps and send them to a land of hope in Mexico."

"What can be finer than this," continued Dr. Barsky.

There was strong feeling in the tones of the Spanish Aid chairman as he told of the plight of the refugees in Africa and France.

Dr. Barsky, who knows the Spanish people from his long service as administrative surgeon with the Spanish Republican . . .

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Reverend McMichael, I want to go back to the testimony of Manning Johnson, which we introduced into evidence yesterday, in which he identified you as a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League and a member of the Communist Party. I want to ask a few more questions about that, sir.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Fine.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you ever a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League?

I am not talking about the Communist Party now; I am talking about the Young Communist League.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course not. I said yesterday I was not a member of the organization. How could I be a member of the national committee?

Mr. KUNZIG. So, you were not a member of the national committee of the Young Communist League nor of the Young Communist League?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I answered the question——

Mr. KUNZIG. Would you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course not.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). Answer it again?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Of course not?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; of course not.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you attend meetings of the Young Communist League?

Reverend McMICHAEL. And to the extent which you identify yourself with—

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). These apparently absurd and contradictory charges—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Thousands of Protestant ministers will—

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I request—

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, he's repeating the same question.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I am not repeating the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's the same question.

Mr. KUNZIG. If the witness would listen instead of talking and trying to get in these asides—

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is not an aside.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). And trying to bring in thousands of ministers who are not before this committee—

Reverend McMICHAEL. They will recognize that this is the opening wedge—

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike—

Mr. JACKSON. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. For carrying out these ridiculous charges.

Mr. KUNZIG. I respectfully request this man—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Will the counsel please ask the question again?

Mr. KUNZIG. I am attempting to, Mr. Chairman, but I respectfully request this man be kept quiet when he has no right to speak.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I request or move that the testimony of the witness be stricken—

Mr. VELDE. I would ask you to ask the question again, and respectfully ask the witness to answer the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I stated I wasn't a member of the organization. How could I be a member of the national committee?

Mr. VELDE. That wasn't the question pending at all.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question pending, which he couldn't obviously hear since he was talking—

Mr. CLARDY. Wait a minute.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you trying to hide something by striking this from the record?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully request that some action be taken to keep this witness from making the obviously insulting, disparaging, and disrespectful comments that he makes.

And I wish the Congress of the United States could hear this.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Counsel, would you repeat the question, please—

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wish he would stop making accusations.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). So the witness can hear it.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is: Have you ever, Reverend McMichael, attended meetings of the Young Communist League?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have not.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I have recognition?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I move to strike the remarks made by the witness from the point of the first asking of the question.

The remarks were obviously contemptuous, but I think they should not remain in the record.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

Mr. DOYLE. Now, I wish, please, to have the remarks to which Mr. Clardy refers read.

Mr. CLARDY. If the reporter got them, that is all right.

Were you able to get those remarks, Mr. Reporter?

The REPORTER. Mr. Clardy, I am sure I didn't get all of the aside remarks and comments. I am sure I got only portions of some of them.

Mr. CLARDY. If you didn't get that trivial stuff, it is all right with me.

Reverend McMICHAEL. There is nothing trivial about it.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, if you—

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you are standing on these documents—if you identify yourself with any of this kind—

Mr. VELDE. Please.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, may I suggest you pay attention to the Chair today.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, Reverend McMichael, you said you never attended any meetings of the Young Communist League. May I ask if you—

Mr. DONNER. May I ask the questioner to fix the time?

Mr. KUNZIG. No; you may not ask anything.

Mr. VELDE. No; the counsel—

Mr. JACKSON. You may consult, if you care to.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; you may consult, if you care to.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is all right.

Mr. KUNZIG. You testified yesterday you were never a member of the Communist Party, and you testified you are not now a member of the Communist Party. I now wish to ask you if you ever at any time attended Communist Party meetings.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not to my knowledge. I've been—I've been very curious and interested in all sorts of things, and I've gone to a lot of meetings of groups I didn't agree with; but never, to my knowledge, attended this kind of meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. Will you deny here, under oath, you never attended a Communist Party meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I will deny, under oath, that I never, to my knowledge.

Mr. KUNZIG. I thought that would be the answer, and I think the record should note you very carefully added "to my knowledge."

The question is: Do you deny you ever attended a Communist Party meeting?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer is: To my knowledge, I never attended such a meeting.

Mr. KUNZIG. In other words, that is an evasive answer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You keep making charges of evasive answers. What is evasive about that?

Isn't it possible for a group to have a meeting and not know the nature of it?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, will you ask the counsel to be a counsel rather than a prosecuting attorney here?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I would respectfully request of the Chair that all of these asides which are not directly responsive to a question be deleted from the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Including the counsel's—

Mr. JACKSON. It is quite obvious—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Charges, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. JACKSON. Will you please be quiet until I finish?

If you would only mind, if you can run down for 10 seconds, will you please give the committee members a chance?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Sure.

Mr. JACKSON. It is quite obvious that the witness, on most occasions, at least, is simply speaking to make the record. He has brought the Almighty in—unnecessarily, I believe—and to the point of near blasphemy, in my humble opinion.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Blasphemy refers to God, and you are not God, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. I am still speaking, if you don't mind.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. And I would certainly suggest, as this day's hearing gets started, in order that we don't go through a rambling proposition such as the record of yesterday must appear, that every portion of the witness' testimony which is not directly responsive to the question that is asked be physically stricken from the record and that the reporter be instructed not to take such portions as are not directly responsive to the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Well, the Chair certainly concurs, and I believe the fellow members—

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If the committee is not trying to be unfair, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute.

If the Chair please—

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentlemen from California, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. As to the last part of my distinguished colleague's motion—of course, it is beyond the ability or the jurisdiction of the reporter to determine which is responsive and which is not. Mani-

festly, the reporter should not be put in a position where he is instructed in advance to use his judgment as to what part of the witness' answer is responsive and what is not. I object very strenuously to that. I think it simply cannot be—not without my very strenuous objection. I want the record to show that I think that is certainly improper.

And certainly I think my colleague from California, Mr. Jackson, couldn't have realized the burden and the authority he was placing on the reporter.

I never heard of such a thing.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, will you strike from the record also the asides——

Mr. CLARDY. Pardon me, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Pardon me. I am not through, please.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. JACKSON. Quite naturally, I make that subject to the direction of the Chair, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I know, but you did not say you made it subject to the direction of the Chair.

Mr. JACKSON. I know. I so state now, and I am certain the Chair will see fit——

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, if the Chair instructs the reporter not to take down something, that is another thing—and I am not sure that is right. I don't think it is. I think we want a record here of what occurs. That is my conception.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. That is my conception of this sort of hearing.

Mr. VELDE. Well, I am inclined to agree with the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle, that we must have a record here that purports the actual statements that are made.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well.

Mr. VELDE. I would suggest——

Mr. JACKSON. I withdraw my request.

Mr. VELDE. Any time a member feels voluntary statements are being made, blasphemous statements, or any kind of statement which the witness has been making—no question about that—that he ask it be stricken.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. That is quite satisfactory.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I——

Mr. VELDE. Now, will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I say something?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, in order to expedite matters—and you made the suggestion I had in mind—whenever the witness interjects these asides, which is obviously and purely for the purpose of trying to make the press, I am going to——

Reverend McMICHAEL. For what purpose?

Mr. CLARDY. Will you please remain——

Reverend McMICHAEL. The counsel——

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). Quiet?

You are not being asked any question—and it is this contemptuous attitude about which I am now addressing the Chair.

Now, may I conclude, Mr. Chairman?

May I suggest, instead of interrupting to ask, that you are merely taking for granted that I am requesting in advance right now every time the witness makes any aside not in response to a question, or during the time a question is being asked, that you automatically and without my saying anything more direct the reporter to strike it out?

I think that is the substance of Mr. Jackson's request, and it will expedite matters and we won't have the interruption.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. I would appreciate it very much if the witness would cooperate——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, if you will, I'll be glad to.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). With the committee.

Mr. SCHERER. He doesn't want to cooperate.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Let the counsel not make accusations, but ask questions. I'll give answers to questions.

Mr. VELDE. All right; proceed, Mr. Counsel. Let's get on with this hearing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. He's engaging in an attack——

Mr. KUNZIG. Have you ever met Manning Johnson, Reverend McMichael?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The name is unfamiliar to me.

I would appreciate your producing him and let me look at him. Perhaps I would be able to recognize him by his face.

Is he here in the room?

Mr. VELDE. Is Mr. Manning Johnson in the audience?

Mr. Williams, would you attempt to find Mr. Johnson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you know him if you saw him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'll be glad to look at him.

Mr. CLARDY. Answer my question: Would you know him if you saw him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. How can I answer that question?

I'll let the record show that question—how unfair it is.

Mr. CLARDY. If you were a truthful man, you would answer that question, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, now, Mr. Chairman——

Reverend McMICHAEL. What kind of a question——

Mr. DOYLE. Just a minute now.

I don't want to differ with my distinguished colleagues, but I submit that sort of statement by a member of this committee is highly improper.

Mr. CLARDY. I stand by it.

Mr. DOYLE. It is highly improper at this time. We are not judges. We are here to get the facts, whatever they are, and I think it is very unfortunate to have to disagree with my colleagues, and yet I can't sit as a member of this committee and complacently be silent when that sort of a statement is made from the committee bench. I just can't be silent.

Mr. CLARDY. You should be convinced by now, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all right. Whatever I am convinced of, I am not going to announce from the bench before the hearing is over.

Mr. VELDE. I can see no gain, as far as the committee is concerned in this work, by engaging in these disputes.

Mr. CLARDY. I agree, Mr. Chairman. Patience has an end, though.

Mr. VELDE. Let us remind ourselves again of the duty we have—that is, to investigate subversive activities, subversive propaganda, and report thereon to the Congress for remedial legislation.

Let us try to keep the hearing within the confines of our jurisdiction.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Amen.

Mr. CLARDY. I move to strike that remark, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be stricken.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am simply agreeing with the chairman on that.

Mr. CLARDY. I move to strike that remark.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think it should be kept within the confines, too.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. That was an entirely voluntary statement, Mr. McMichael. There was no question pending.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I respectfully request several minutes' recess, until Mr. Johnson is produced?

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in recess for about 2 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 10:44 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 10:46 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 10:49 a. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Donald L. Jackson, Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Have you been able to find Mr. Johnson?

Mr. WILLIAMS. Yes, Mr. Chairman; I located Mr. Johnson.

Mr. KUNZIG. What was the year, Reverend McMichael, you said you graduated yesterday—was it 1938—from Emory University?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Thirty-seven.

Mr. KUNZIG. Thirty-seven.

And, then, what was your testimony—I would like to ask you again to testify—as to whether you went, after graduating from Emory, to China?

I believe you made a trip. Was it to China?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to ask, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. KUNZIG. What were the dates?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you trying to inform the witness?

Mr. KUNZIG. What were the dates?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to know, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, there is a question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you trying to inform the witness you brought into the room?

Mr. KUNZIG. There is a question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is this man in the room?

Mr. VELDE. You are here as a witness.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, but you are not here as prosecutors.

Mr. VELDE. You are not being prosecuted—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is the witness here, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Whatsoever.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you trying to give information—

Mr. VELDE. Now, please answer the question.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you asking these questions to give some information to someone who will then be able to make accusations against me?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike all the remarks——

Reverend McMICHAEL. If that is true——

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I ask——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am a citizen. I object to that.

Mr. KUNZIG. We have a right to ask questions, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, is the witness in the room?

I propose that you produce him and let me see him and ask him some questions.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I ask——

Mr. VELDE. No; of course that will not be allowed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, don't be giving information to this accuser, who is a perjurer.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Now, voluntary statements will be stricken from the record.

Mr. DONNER. Object.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I object strongly to answering questions in the presence of a person who is trying to build up a case against me.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you go to China?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I object strongly to answering questions in the presence of a witness who is trying to build up a case against me.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike these remarks.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This case you have here from this testimony is so flat apparently that you are trying to reconstruct it or change it on the basis of my truthful answers to these questions.

Mr. CLARDY. I move to strike that, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I protest against——

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Will Mr. Manning Johnson please come forward?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike——

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair does not recognize any of the members at this time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Stand right there, Mr. Johnson.

Now, Reverend McMichael——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please, Mr. Counsel.

This, Mr. Witness, is Manning Johnson.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know him, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Have you met Mr. Johnson?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know him.

Mr. VELDE. Have you ever met him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know the man.

Mr. JOHNSON. Take a good look.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am taking a good look.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer my questions?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to have the privilege of asking him some questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Well, of course, you are the witness at the present time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Are you interested in the information?

It certainly will come out if I can ask him some questions.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer as to whether you have ever met Mr. Manning Johnson?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I certainly don't recognize the name, and I don't recognize his appearance.

Mr. VELDE. And will you say definitely you have never met him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will say definitely I have no knowledge of ever having met him and, on the basis of his name and on the basis of looking at him, that I haven't; and I would like the privilege, if you are interested in information, of asking him some questions that will bring out some information.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, regular order.

Mr. VELDE. The committee is asking questions.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I would like to have the privilege, as an American citizen, of cross-examining this witness.

Mr. JACKSON. Have you read the rules of the committee, Witness?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I've read the rules of the committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Well, then, you know perfectly well the request you are making is not in accordance with the rules of the committee.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is the committee trying to prosecute me, sir?

Mr. JACKSON. The committee, excepting you are prosecuting yourself in your own mind, has absolutely no intention of prosecuting you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The committee has circulated perjured charges against me.

Mr. JACKSON. Very well. That will be determined in another tribunal as to who has perjured himself.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Very well.

Mr. VELDE. All right, Mr. Johnson, you may retire.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, in the matter of privilege, may I ask for the opportunity—

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of asking this perjurer questions?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move that be stricken from the record.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, that will be stricken from the record. It is not responsive to any questions.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have here a document, marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 31" for identification, which is a photostatic copy of an undated letterhead of the United American Spanish Aid Committee, showing Jack McMichael as a sponsor of the organization.

I hand you that copy.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. What is the organization?

Mr. KUNZIG. The organization, sir, is the United American Spanish Aid Committee.

Mr. JACKSON. Was there a citation on the organization?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, sir; I am getting that.

The United American Spanish Aid Committee was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949, by the Special Commit-

tee on Un-American Activities in 1944 and by the California committee in 1948.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you.

(At this point Reverend McMichael was still conferring with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Kunzig, what was the date of this; do you know?

Mr. KUNZIG. I already stated there is no date on the thing, Reverend McMichael.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Do you have any knowledge of the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. I haven't any knowledge as to the date. I just have the document, which has your name on it. It is unfortunately undated.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Along with the distinguished humanitarian, Helen Keller—

Mr. SCHERER. Now, Mr. Chairman—

Reverend McMICHAEL. And the distinguished author—

Mr. SCHERER. I object to this answer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Van Wyck Brooks—

Mr. VELDE. If the witness will answer the question—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Olin Downes—

Mr. VELDE. Please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The document indicates here I was a sponsor of this attempt to bring milk to thousands of children who survived the horror of concentration camps in Franco Spain.

Now, I have no memory of it at all, Mr. Chairman. It seems like a very worthy cause, from a democratic and humanitarian—

Mr. VELDE. You have no memory of it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; but it seems like a very humanitarian cause, from a Christian and democratic view, and that is the basis I am operating on.

Mr. VELDE. We are interested to know—

Reverend McMICHAEL. So, I could have done it.

Mr. VELDE. Whether you were a member.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wasn't a member.

I haven't been charged as being a member of any of these organizations.

Mr. VELDE. The counsel is questioning you about—

Reverend McMICHAEL. These questions haven't—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Your activities—

Reverend McMICHAEL. To do with membership.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). In connection with these organizations, and it is within the jurisdiction of this committee and within the jurisdiction of the United States Congress to ask one of its citizens to answer questions—

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. VELDE. And be responsive to questions.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I assume you want to be fair, and I want to answer in context. I want to give the context—that's all—so I won't be misrepresented.

Mr. KUNZIG. And to make the record clear, we are not saying, Reverend McMichael, you were a member; we are saying or asking you: Were you, as listed—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Along with Helen Keller——

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). A sponsor——

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). Van Wyck Brooks——

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). Of this organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). And one of our greatest sculptors——

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer in evidence——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Olin Downes——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer in evidence this document as McMichael exhibit No. 31, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted at this point.

(The photostatic copy of the undated letter on the letterhead of the United American Spanish Aid Committee was marked and received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 31.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 31

UNITED AMERICAN
SPANISH AID COMMITTEE200 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.
ROOM 810 GRAMERCY 5-7607

DR. EDWARD K. BAREY
Chairman
DR. THOMAS A. ADDIS
MARTHA DODD
HERMAN SHUMLIN
Vice-Chairmen
PROF. LYMAN R. BRADLEY
Treasurer

FRED BIEDENKAPF
Executive Secretary
JOHN SHERMAN
Organizational Secretary
FELIX KUSMAN
*Director of Campaign
for International Volunteers*

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Williamford Ringer
Salvador Sanchez
Prof. T. C. Schmitz
George Selles
Florence Sherman
John Sherman
Herman Shumlin
Helen Simon
Ferdinand Smith
George Starr
Dr. James A. Tolmach
David McKelvey White
Herbert Wirt

SPONSORS

Josephine Truvelo Adams
Prof. George E. Amelio
John T. Burnard
Paul Burns
Miles Brand
Yan Wick Brooks
Prof. J. P. Brown
Prof. Edwin Berry Burgess
Fielding Burke
Ellis M. Cope
Ella Crichlow
Prof. H. W. L. Dano
Prof. J. F. Dahlstedt
John P. Davis
Otis Dwyer
Marion Dreger
Lynn Fournace
Rev. Stephen Fritchman
Mordcaai Gorenlik
William Gropper
Harrison Hiss
Yareh Pinak Kabe
Dr. J. B. Kanor
Helen Keller
Rockwell Kent
Harold M. Land
George Marshall
Jack McMichael
Shamus O'Shea
Dorothy Parker
Bertha C. Rynolds
Homer Saint Gaudens
Dr. Henry B. Sigler
Paul Sonard
Edward E. Strong
Isabel Walker Soule
Eda Lee Walton
Max Yergan
and others

Dear Friend:

The peoples of Europe are again being subjected to the barbarities of war as the continent goes up in flames - a war that threatens the very life of democracy. The first victims of the war, the foremost defenders of democracy and peace, were the Spanish Republican Army and International Brigades, the harrassed Spanish people, the millions imprisoned and shot by the Franco Government.

The intensification of the war means a further worsening of the tragic plight of the Spanish people and refugees who had to flee their native land. For three years they fought with courage and heroism. They can never be forgotten, lest we pay an even greater price for Liberty.

Thousands of children who survived the horror of concentration camps need milk to keep alive. Thousands of "able-bodied" men, workers, intellectuals and professionals working in "pick and shovel gangs" of forced labor battalions, need shoes, soap, medicines. Thousands of scattered families must be reunited and given a minimum of food if they are to survive. Soldiers whose wounds are not yet healed need not only medicines, but also artificial legs and arms. And for as many as possible we must provide transportation to countries where they can start life anew.

Millions of people have contributed much and continuously to keep alive the spirit of democracy and to relieve the suffering of those who defended it. In spite of all difficulties, the way is still open for us to bring them aid - through our International Coordinating Committee in France. With YOUR help - we can and must answer the urgent appeals we constantly receive.

Please send us immediately the largest contribution you can, to help ease the suffering of those who depend on us.

Sincerely yours,

Edward K. Barey

Edward K. Barey, M. D.

Dorothy Parker

Dorothy Parker

Helen Keller

Helen Keller

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California, Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, I want to say on several occasions the witness has remonstrated over guilt by association, and he is quite obviously making every possible effort to disassociate himself from these organizations or any connection with them by the simple process of innocence by association.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought you just said you were not judging me, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. I am not judging you at all.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, it certainly amounts to that.

Mr. JACKSON. I was simply making an observation.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I say——

Mr. JACKSON. Just a minute.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't think——

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The committee members have a perfect right to make statements.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I know, but he said I was not being judged, and now he makes an observation which amounts to that.

Mr. JACKSON. No; I suggested you were using other names——

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. JACKSON. To establish——

Reverend McMICHAEL. To correct the misrepresentation.

Mr. JACKSON. Or to demonstrate your innocence in the same manner which you used or stated guilt by association.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I said I was not connected with it.

Mr. JACKSON. Guilt by association——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is un-American——

Mr. JACKSON. Is a terrible thing——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And un-Christian.

Mr. JACKSON. And I am moved to remark——

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is the principle on which these questions are based.

Mr. JACKSON. Now, just a minute. I still have the floor.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. JACKSON. Innocence by association, when it can be used, is very, very desirable.

I should like to know on how many other occasions and how many letterheads the names of some of these distinguished people appear.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you give me an opportunity, I would be glad to answer that.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I have the floor for a moment.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I want to admonish counsel in this case. Counsel, under the rules, is permitted to advise his client as to the law and his constitutional rights. Counsel in this case, on three separate occasions this morning, when a question has been asked the witness, has given the witness the answer.

I have watched that carefully. You gave him the last answer. Now, that is not the duty of counsel in this case.

Mr. DONNER. I don't want the record to stand with that accusation on it. That is a most improper accusation.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show——

Reverend McMICHAEL. The record shouldn't stand with false accusations.

Mr. VELDE. Let the record show at this point that Mr. Jackson has to leave the committee on official business and I, therefore, appoint a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Scherer, Mr. Clardy, Mr. Doyle, and myself as chairman for the purposes of further hearing.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, may I——

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Being a member of the bar, as you know, I have always taken the position that counsel should have considerable leeway in advising his client before this committee, and I know what our rule is; but I think counsel ought to thoroughly understand—and I believe you have instructed him, Mr. Chairman—any time he feels his client's constitutional rights are, if they are ever, in jeopardy, or feels it is important that he advise his client, he may do so and I, as a member of the bar, hope he will do so.

Mr. VELDE. Of course, Mr. Doyle, you realize that the counsel always has been accorded that privilege by this committee, and will—

Mr. SCHERER. But he has no right—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Be accorded that privilege while I am chairman of this committee. However, I want to say it is not within the bounds of decent, ethical behavior for counsel to put words—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Nor has he done so—

Mr. SCHERER. He certainly has.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And the accusation oughtn't to stand.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I move—

Reverend McMICHAEL. He has not put words in my mouth.

Mr. CLARDY. I move those remarks be stricken, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have given my own answers, and they are effectual answers, and they can stand.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, those remarks made by the witness will be stricken from the record.

Mr. DONNER. I would like the record to show my protest. I think the accusation is unfounded.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you make accusations, can there be no reply at all?

Are you supposed to be asking questions or making accusations, without giving us any chance to reply?

Mr. CLARDY. I move that be stricken, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, that is a question for information. I would like to know. Is it your purpose to never give people who are accused a chance to reply?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, those remarks—voluntary remarks of both counsel and the witness—will be stricken from the record at this point.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, could you let us know whether or not you intend for us to let go unanswered—

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Unfair accusations?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Those remarks will be stricken.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have—

Mr. VELDE. As I admonished you yesterday, I would very much regret to have to ask you to leave the witness stand; but if further outbursts are made, with no question pending—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would you please refrain from making accusations, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. VELDE. I shall have to ask the officers to escort you from the room.

Will you proceed?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Just one minute, please.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to make one observation.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California.

Mr. DOYLE. I object to the ruling of the chairman striking the protest of counsel from this record about a charge made by my distinguished committee member. I think a member of the bar, to be charged with a violation of this committee's rules, should be permitted to make a dignified statement, which he made, to show in the record, because he has a reputation to protect the same as we have; and, therefore, I object to the Chair's ruling that his protest be stricken from the record.

I believe he owes it to himself and the profession of law to have the record show that he didn't sit there in silence and be charged—I am not saying the criticism was not well founded; I don't know, but I do think, Mr. Chairman, that a member of the bar, under such circumstances, should have the right to show in the record that he denies the charge.

That is all I have to say.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I am the only member who hasn't spoken on that.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I think I should point out that the rules specifically and explicitly prohibit counsel addressing the committee at any time.

Now, I have also observed the conduct of counsel. I shall reserve my remarks as to what I think about it for an appropriate time and place, but I concur in the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. VELDE. Well, let me make this statement, Mr. Doyle: The counsel, of course, in this particular case, is not under oath and any statement that he might make would be a voluntary statement by a person not under oath in that connection; and, therefore, the proper—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I am under oath and I will be glad to make a statement for him.

Mr. CLARDY. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, may we continue?

Mr. VELDE. I might say the committee will take up the matter as to whether or not counsel should be permitted to make a statement after we are through with the present witness.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I have a document, which is marked McMichael exhibit No. 32 for identification, which is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of March 5, 1941, page 2, which shows that a Jack R. McMichael, of New York City, was a signer of a statement urging the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party.

I hand you this document, and ask you if you signed or permitted your name to be used in this listing of those who signed, defending the rights of the Communist Party.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman—

Mr. VELDE. I might announce at this point we have had a call of the House, and the committee will stand in recess for 30 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 11:06 a. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 11:36 a. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 11:45 a. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Reporter, let the record show that I have appointed a subcommittee consisting of Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Doyle, and myself as the chairman, for the purposes of our continuing this hearing.

Will you proceed? Was there a question pending?

Mr. KUNZIG. I have it here. I had passed McMichael exhibit No. 32 to the witness, which was a copy of the Daily Worker having a long list of names signing a statement urging the President and Congress to defend the rights of the Communist Party. The question was, Did you sign or permit your name to be used in the list of those defending the rights of the Communist Party?

Reverend McMICHAEL. My answer is that, as the distinguished Harvard Law Review put it in October 1947, the statement in question, also in defense of the Communist Party's rights under the Constitution—

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question first?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I, along with Dean Fleming James—

Mr. VELDE. You said you will answer it. Please answer it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am answering it, in context.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, I ask that the witness be directed to give a yes or no answer preceding any explanation he wants to give, and I move to strike out the answer thus far.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy, I expect we have to have the patience of Job to continue this hearing. As I announced yesterday, I am willing to stay here—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to answer in context.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). To continue this hearing until all of the information concerning you and concerning the subversive activities and subversive propaganda is fully developed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Surely.

Mr. VELDE. I hoped that you, in the interests of saving your Congress' and your elected Members of Congress' time, would cooperate in that regard.

Mr. DOYLE. I concur with my chairman. I want to stay until the hearing is finished. I want to join with my chairman in urging you cooperate with us.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I want to cooperate and I want to answer questions in context, so that I am not misrepresented.

Mr. VELDE. Will you ask the question again, Mr. Kunzig, please?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. I have not failed to answer, and I will.

As I stated the Dean of the University of the South who—

Mr. VELDE. That is not in answer to the question. Will you answer the question, please. It is entirely irrelevant.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, it is not irrelevant because it shows the nature of the statement.

Mr. SCHERER. Who is running the committee?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The statement has been——

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. I have the floor. I want to know who is running the committee. Is he to determine whether a question is relevant, or the Chair? That is absolutely contemptuous, as all of his conduct has been, and I want the record to show that this conduct of the witness has persisted in utter contempt of the Congress of the United States.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This is a witness trying to cooperate in answering questions.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending except the one asked you by counsel. Will you please answer?

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you will let me answer it in my own way I will, and I will answer it satisfactorily.

Mr. VELDE. Will you repeat the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I understand the question.

Mr. KUNZIG. I repeat the question. Did you sign or permit your name to be used in this list of those defending the rights of the Communist Party?

Mr. VELDE. That is a very simple question and can be answered very simply.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. And you have agreed to cooperate.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am cooperating. I want the opportunity——

Mr. VELDE. All of the members of the committee have other things they would like to do.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like 1 minute to answer this question.

Mr. VELDE. All right. The Chair will grant you 1 minute.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Along with Dean Fleming James of the University of the South, who conducted the funeral services for the late Chief Justice Stone, and the professor of Mount Holyoke, and many other distinguished people who identified themselves in the statement which the Daily Worker, the favorite source of authority of Mr. Kunzig, indicates I signed—a statement which the Harvard Law Review describes not as a defense of the Communist Party, but the American Constitution and the right of the American people to vote for any party they want on the ballot, and letting a multiparty system rather than a one-party system, which is a democratic and American system, rather than the antidemocratic system, prevail.

Mr. CLARDY. I move to strike out the insults directed at counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. May I point out he has not said "Yes" or "No," as to whether his name was used. He gave a long song and dance——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. My name is used.

Mr. VELDE. We have given you an opportunity to make a 1-minute speech, which you have just gotten through doing. You haven't answered the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have answered the question, that my name was used, according to the Daily Worker.

Mr. VELDE. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. KUNZIG. The question was, Did you permit your name to be used? Did you authorize this?

Text of Statement in Defense of Communist Party

List of Signatories Defending the Communist Party

Supreme Soviet Session Ends, Always New Budget

By E. J. Vanech
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

1954



New Cotton Pickers

Young women are picking cotton in the U.S.S.R.

ORIGINARY CASE

The first case of the kind was reported in the Soviet press in 1953. It was a woman, a member of the Communist Party, who was accused of being a spy for the United States. She was arrested and charged with espionage. The case was widely publicized in the Soviet Union and abroad.

U.S. Reaction

The United States government reacted with surprise and concern. It was the first time that a member of the Communist Party had been accused of espionage. The case was widely publicized in the United States and abroad.

U.S. Reaction

The United States government reacted with surprise and concern. It was the first time that a member of the Communist Party had been accused of espionage. The case was widely publicized in the United States and abroad.

Soft Goods At Auss of Soviet Note of Rebuttal

Moscow, U.S.S.R.
Special to U.S. Press

Capital APN Want Refuses Costs to Dies

Moscow, U.S.S.R.
Special to U.S. Press

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't recall authorizing it, but having read the statement and seeing the nature of it, I think it was misrepresented from your description.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now we get the facts.

Mr. VELDE. Now we will proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not denying I did.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair would like to make a statement that the committee members are unanimous in feeling we should continue this hearing until 12:15 and adjourn for 1½ hours, which will make it 1:45, and let us get as much developed as we possibly can.

We will give you an opportunity to answer questions here.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is all I want, is an opportunity to answer. I haven't been withholding answers, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Of course, you are being given an opportunity.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. And I would hope you will answer questions.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you will give me an opportunity of answering and not to misrepresent myself, that is all I ask. I want my Christian and democratic privilege.

Mr. KUNZIG. I offer this document in evidence as McMichael exhibit No. 32, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be introduced.

(McMichael exhibit No. 32, Daily Worker, March 5, 1941, p. 2, article, Text of Statement in Defense of Communist Party, including list of 450 prominent Americans who signed statement, was made a part of the record.)

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 33" which is a photostatic copy of the official invitation of the American Council on Soviet Relations,²⁴ inviting the people who received this to a reception in honor of various people, 6 or 7 people, 1 of whom is Jack McMichael, on Sunday, November 16, 5 to 8 p. m., in the Gold Room, Hotel Ambassador, Park Avenue at 51st Street, New York City. I hand this to you.

Mr. Chairman, the American Council on Soviet Relations was cited as subversive and a Communist successor to the Friends of the Soviet Union by Attorney General Clark in 1948; cited as a Communist front by Attorney General Biddle in 1942; and cited as a Communist front by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities and the California Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. VELDE. Thank you. What are the dates of the citations?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Do you have the dates of this?

Mr. KUNZIG. 1948 for Tom Clark, 1942 for Francis Biddle, 1944 for the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and 1948 for the California committee.

²⁴ American Council on Soviet Relations:

1. Cited as the subversive and Communist successor to the Friends of the Soviet Union (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948).

2. Cited as a Communist front (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7688).

3. Cited as a Communist front (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 174).

Reverend McMICHAEL. Do you have the date of this, Mr. Kunzig? Is there a date for that? Can you provide that?

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me see it. Why are you asking? You have the date in front of you. I read it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What is the date?

Mr. KUNZIG. Read it out loud yourself. I read it already, so it is no secret.

Reverend McMICHAEL. What year?

Mr. KUNZIG. You can read it, can't you?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Will you please read it to me?

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Kunzig, I suggest you do not follow the request or direction of the witness.

Mr. KUNZIG. He is referring to the year.

Mr. CLARDY. He is being contemptuous again.

Reverend McMICHAEL. There is nothing contemptuous about asking for a year.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, he is referring to the year, Sunday, November 16. The year is 1941.

I will give him the next documents, which are all attached and have to do with the same thing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. May I see that?

Mr. KUNZIG. The next is the American Council on Soviet Relations, letter dated November 10, 1941, announcing the sale of tickets to a celebration to be held on November 17, 1941, commemorating the eighth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and listing Jack McMichael among the speakers, which is marked here "Exhibit 33-A." There is also a document marked "Exhibit 34," which is an invitation to be guest of honor at celebration commemorating the eighth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Monday, November 17.

It is an official invitation of the council showing that Jack McMichael was among the speakers at the celebration of the eighth anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, held by the American Council on Soviet Relations.

Tied in with it and in relation to the same thing, so that you have the full picture, is a photostatic copy of a confidential police department report of New York City showing that Jack McMichael was a speaker at the meeting, hinting that this is all part and parcel of the American Council on Soviet Relations.

These four documents have to do with the same group. The last exhibit in connection with this, marked McMichael Exhibit No. 35 for identification, contains the statement:

In answering the recent appeal made by Soviet Youth at their meeting in Moscow, Jack McMichael of the American Youth Congress said:

"The Soviet Union has in two brief decades made more progress than any other great power in realizing in practice the Christian and democratic principles of equal opportunity regardless of race or national origin."

These are four documents relating to instances in which your name is used as a participant speaker in meetings sponsored by this Communist-front organization.

The question is, did you attend and were you the speaker at these meetings?

Let me hand you also the document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 36," because that goes with them. That is a confidential police report, and the other (McMichael Exhibit No. 35) is a statement put out by the American Council on Soviet Relations. (Press release describing speech delivered by Jack McMichael on occasion referred to in McMichael Exhibit No. 33-A.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, remembering that the President of the—

Mr. VELDE. Will the witness remember that he has been asked to answer question as concisely as possible?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I will do that as briefly as possible, to be accurate.

Remembering the date and that the President of the United States had promised all support to this invaded country, and that the present President of the United States wrote to this organization, or another organization like this, praising its work, and remembering the historic period in which this happened—

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. And remembering the historic period in which this happened, which is not today, and it is quite a different situation, I testify that I am sure that I did, along—did speak on that occasion and am quoted as having been speaking in support of the President of the United States.

Then, with reference to this other—

Mr. SCHERER. Are you quoting from the police report as having spoken?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No, sir. In the police report I am quoted as having spoken for better employment opportunities for the youth of America, alleging that there are still 5 million unemployed in the United States, and expressing joy over the fact that the Rapp-Coudert committee will end its functions after December 31.

Those sentiments are certainly in accord with my conception of what is Christian and democratic, and I think we should work to get rid of unemployment for all young people. They are in line with my conviction.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question then?

Reverend McMICHAEL. So I answer on the basis of this police report as it is described I am willing to testify I did speak at the meeting.

Mr. VELDE. Is that an exhibit, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. What is the number of the exhibit?

Mr. KUNZIG. I now offer in evidence McMichael exhibit Nos. 33, 33-A, 34, 35, and 36.

Mr. VELDE. Is there a request they be admitted?

Mr. KUNZIG. I request they be admitted into the record.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be admitted into the record at this point.

(McMichael Exhibit Nos. 33, 33-A, 34, 35, and 36 were made a part of the record.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 33

On the occasion of the Eighth Anniversary
of the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations
between the United States of America
and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The American Council on Soviet Relations

invites you to a

Reception

IN HONOR OF

Lt. Commander Charles S. Seely

Arthur Upham Pope
Dr. Henry E. Sigerist
Corliss Lamont

Genevieve Taggard
Clifford T. McAvoy
Jack McMichael

Mrs. Joseph E. Davies

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 16th - 5 to 8 P.M.

in the Gold Room
HOTEL AMBASSADOR
Park Avenue at 51st Street
New York City

R.S.V.P.

MUSIC

*Our guests of honor at this Reception will be the
principal speakers at a forthcoming Anniversary Meeting*

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 33-A

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS

112 EAST 19th STREET

NEW YORK CITY

GRanary 7 6123

November 10, 1941

CORLISS LAMONT
*National Chairman*THE REV. JOSEPH F. FLETCHER
RICHARD T. McAVOY
• *Vice Chairmen*GEORGE MARSHALL
*Treasurer*PHILIP J. JAFFE
*National Director*THOMAS L. HARRIS
*National Secretary*CLIFFORD F. WELCH
*Executive Secretary*MARY VAN KLEECK
Chairman of Research Committee

Dear Friend:

On Monday, November 17th, the American Council on Soviet Relations is commemorating the Eighth Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, at Manhattan Center, 34th Street & 8th Avenue, at 8:00 P.M. Speakers will include Lt. Commander Charles S. Seely, U.S. Navy (Retired) and Editor of NAVY NEWS, the official organ of the Navy and author of a recent book on the Soviet Union, RUSSIA AND THE APPROACH OF ARMAGEDDON; Mrs. Joseph E. Davies, who, as wife of the former Ambassador to the Soviet Union, spent over a year and a half in Russia; Professor Arthur Upham Pope, Chairman of Committee for National Morale, who as head of the American Institute for Iranian Art, has attended many conferences in Moscow; Jack McMichael, Chairman of the American Youth Congress; Genevieve Taggard, Poet. Corliss Lamont of the American Council on Soviet Relations will also be a principal speaker. Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, Director of the Institute of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University, will preside.

Tickets may be bought in advance for this meeting at our offices, 112 East 19th Street, Room 805, or at the Bookfair, 133 West 44th Street. Prices range from 35¢ to \$1.10.

I hope you will drop in and take as many tickets as possible for this meeting.

Sincerely,

Clifford F. Welch
Clifford F. Welch

cfw/s

uopwa #16

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 34

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS
INVITES YOU TO BE A GUEST OF HONOR AND SIT ON THE
PLATFORM AT A PUBLIC MEETING ON THE OCCASION OF THE

Eighth Anniversary

of the

Establishment of Diplomatic Relations

between the

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

and the

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

Monday, November 17th, 8 p.m.

S P E A K E R S

Mrs. Joseph E. Davies

Lt. Commander Charles S. Seely

Arthur Upham Pope

Corliss Lamont

Jack McMichael

Genevieve Taggard

Thomas L. Harris

Dr. Henry E. Sigerist, *Chairman*

and others

MANHATTAN CENTER

34th Street and 8th Avenue

New York City

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 35

NEWS**AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS**
National Office: 112 EAST 10th STREET • NEW YORK CITY
GRamercy 7-0123

ON THE OCCASION OF THE EIGHTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF AMERICAN-SOVIET DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

In answering the recent appeal made by Soviet Youth at their meeting in Moscow, Jack McMichael of the American Youth Congress said:

"The Soviet Union has in two brief decades made more practice than any other great power in realizing in practice the Christian and democratic principles of equal opportunity regardless of race or national origin.

"Let us pay tribute to these Soviet youth for the tremendous progress they have made in such a brief period against such huge internal and external obstacles. Now the powerful armies of Hitler are seeking to wipe out every one of these gains, by destroying the homes, schools, factories, the very life-blood of this great section of the world's younger generation. Hitler would replace the equality which has been won for racial and national minorities in the Soviet Union with the most powerfully vicious system of racial persecution yet known to man.

"But Hitler will not succeed. At last Hitler's timetable is not working. There are no fifth columnists among the youth of the Soviet Union. Their courage is magnificent. Their morale is high. This morale is based not alone on slogans, but on the solid gains their nation has made towards the solution of youth's pressing problems. They will win in their epic battle against Hitlerism. They have sent to the youth of America the solemn promise that they will keep on fighting and earth-scorching and dying until Hitlerism is destroyed. They will keep their promise. The struggle for the defeat of aggressive fascism is not only their struggle, or that of the youth of China or the youth of England. The President of the U. S. has promised to stand by them until our common job is completed. We support our President. It is our struggle too; and we, the youth of America, will do our part."

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 36

(Confidential Police Report, November 28, 1941)

Nov. 28th: Attended a meeting held under the auspices of the FORDHAM FORUM in cooperation with the AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SOVIET RELATIONS at 2413 Grand Concourse, Bronx, approximately 225 persons were present. The chairman of this meeting was *Thomas L. Harris*, secretary of the ACSR; other speakers were *Jessica Smith*, sec. to Harris; *Rev. Ver Lin Sprague*, associated with the Local Chapter of the United Office and Professional Workers Union, CIO, and *Jack McMichael*, president of the AMERICAN YOUTH CONGRESS.

The purpose of this meeting, as expressed by *Harris*, "is to foment a better understanding between the American and Soviet peoples," adding that "no one should feel apologetic when speaking in behalf of the Soviet Union." Further on *Harris* spoke in length of the necessity for a better understanding and friendship towards the Soviet Union by the American people, stressing that President Roosevelt has "done a great deal toward that end, by his generous contributions such as the lend-lease and the billion dollar loan."

McMichael, in his talk, expressed jubilation over the fact that the Rapp-Coudert committee will end its functions after December 31, the audience responded with great applause upon this announcement. Further on, *McMichael* stressed need for better employment opportunities for the youth of America, alleging that there are still five million unemployed in the United States.

Sprague made the usual collection speech "to carry on the work and activities of the ACSR. In his talk, however, he defended the Constitution of the Soviet Union as offering freedom of religion and worship to the Russian peoples, in this he attempted to dispel statements made in the public press contrary to the same.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 37," Mr. Chairman, which is a photostatic copy of an undated letterhead—and so that there is no request later on for a date I state again, so it is perfectly clear, this is an undated letterhead of the Schappes Defense Committee, listing Jack R. McMichael as one of the sponsors.

The letterhead is attached to a press release dated December 22, 1941. The Schappes Defense Committee²⁵ is a cited organization, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Will you read the citations into the record, and the dates of the citations?

Mr. KUNZIG. I will get it in just 1 minute, Mr. Chairman.

Cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949. Cited as a front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York. Morris U. Schappes was on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of 13 years. In 1936 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged efforts by the Communist Party. It is in a special report by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities dated March 29, 1944.

Mr. VELDE. The first citation you read was in the citation of this committee as of what date?

²⁵ Schappes Defense Committee:

1. Cited as Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949).

2. "A front organization with a strictly Communist objective, namely, the defense of a self-admitted Communist who was convicted of perjury in the courts of New York." Morris U. Schappes "was on the teaching staff of the College of the City of New York for a period of 13 years. In 1936 his superior on the college faculty refused to recommend him for reappointment. This action led to prolonged agitation by the Communist Party" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 71).

Mr. KUNZIG. The first citation I read was that of Attorney General Tom Clark in 1949. The second citation I read was that of this committee, March 29, 1944.

Mr. VELDE. Does the witness remember the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, I do. I am trying to check my memory.

Mr. KUNZIG. The question is, were you a member of the Schappes Defense Committee?

Mr. McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I was not a member of the committee. I never attended any of its meetings; I never made any financial contribution to its work, but note that among the many sponsors were Frieda Kineway, Prof. Robert H. Mowers, Lester H. Lowenberg, Bishop Francis J. McConnell, and the President of our Methodist School in North Carolina, Dr. David D. Jones, and the beloved George Addison, philosopher, Prof. Edgar S. Bride, and others.

Mr. CLARDY. What is the answer?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer is, I never was a member of the committee, and I never attended any of the meetings and never made any contribution to it.

Mr. VELDE. At this time I should like to make a statement with reference to the voluntary statements made by the witness: That any name of any person who is mentioned by the witness, let it please be understood—

Reverend McMICHAEL. No charge.

Mr. VELDE. That there is no inference drawn by this hearing, or necessarily drawn by this hearing, that the person so named is a subversive or in any way connected with any subversive organization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is right. If people want to know if someone is subversive, let them go to the people that preach or talk—

Mr. VELDE. Counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have another question.

Mr. McMichael, you very carefully said you were not a member.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That was not the question.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am asking you if you were a sponsor.

Reverend McMICHAEL. As to the question whether I was a sponsor, I have indicated the names of other sponsors. I have no recollection of being a sponsor, but I would feel honored to have been in such company as that.

At the same time, I have been long interested in defending the constitutional right of all individuals, even though I may disagree with them. It seems to me that is the democratic and Christian—

Mr. VELDE. You answered you have no recollection.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no recollection of it, Mr. Chairman. That is right.

Mr. CLARDY. And you don't know how your name appeared as a sponsor?

Reverend McMICHAEL. How could I know that?

Mr. CLARDY. I am asking you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No, I have no idea.

Mr. CLARDY. How does your name happen to appear as sponsor of so many things of which you have no idea?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have a recollection of some things.

Mr. CLARDY. Very few.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, quite a few.

Mr. CLARDY. My question is, how is it possible that your name could appear so often without your having any recollection of it at all?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I propose to answer questions honestly. If I do not have memory I am not going to create one to make it look better to you.

Mr. CLARDY. We have not come within gunshot of the answer, but we will let it go. My patience isn't that great.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you think you remember everything from 13 years back when you were a young person and you are engaged in entirely different work now——

Mr. CLARDY. If I had ever been a member of a Communist-front organization I would remember it to the day of my death.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of course you would; and I am not charged with having been a member of any organization. The question has to do with a particular project—a particular project on behalf of humanitarianism, or civil liberties, or peace. These are the charges. They could be made against thousands of ministers and it seems to me this is an opening gun for what Matthews was talking about. Read the names of the people who signed the statements.

Mr. VELDE. It is entirely out of order. There is no question pending before you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Your colleague makes charges against us.

Mr. VELDE. This is entirely out of order, and without objection that voluntary statement will be stricken from the record. It has no place in the record and has nothing to do with it.

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. What part?

Mr. VELDE. Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer McMichael exhibit No. 37 into evidence.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be received in evidence at this point.

(McMichael exhibit No. 37, undated letterhead of the Schappes Defense Committee, was made a part of the record.)

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT No. 37

(Part 1)

PARTIAL LIST OF SPONSORS

NANCY BLUMBERG
 PROF. FRANK BOAS
 PROF. BORISOW BROWNE
 PROF. S. B. BURGESS
 ARON COPLAND
 PROF. EPHRAIM CROSS
 JOSEPH CURRIAN
 PROF. ARTHUR T. COWLEY
 JACOB CREE
 PROF. H. W. L. DANA
 PROF. MORRIS & BAYE
 RUBIN DELACY
 DR. TILLA F. BORN
 WILLIAM E. BOES JR.
 PROF. ABRAHAM EISEN
 LEONARD EISENBERG
 ARTHUR ELLIS
 ABRAHAM FLAHERTY
 BEN BOLD
 SAMUEL HANCOCK
 DONALD HENDERSON
 CHARLES J. HENKLEY
 JOE JONES
 CONRAD KAYS
 ROBERT L. LEBE
 CAROL ERNE
 SAM ELKINBERG
 ALBERT S. LANE
 JOHN HOWARD LAYTON
 CLIFFORD I. LEVITCH
 SAMUEL MARSHALL
 ELYN MARGOLIS
 JACOB S. MARSHALL
 SAM WELLS
 PROF. WILLIAM A. MOTT
 GRANT W. OATES
 ARTHUR OSKMAN
 MAX PERLOW
 HARRY REICH
 PROF. P. P. REISS
 PROF. EDWIN REISS
 LARA ROBINSON
 BEN JACOB ROBINSON
 ROBINSON
 PROF. MARSHALL SCHLAUCH
 PROF. WALTER S. SCHLAUCH
 IRVING SCHULBERG
 N. S. SIKHOLITSKY
 MORRIS L. SIEGAL
 PROF. ROBERT E. SIEGAL
 PROF. BERNHARD J. STEIN
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 PROF. JOHN J. STONE
 JOSEPHINE TROST
 PROF. BOA LOU WALTON
 PROF. LOUIS WEISSBERG
 PROF. F. W. WEISSBERG
 PROF. ROBERT A. WEISSBERG
 DONALD WRIGHT
 BE. WALT ZILBERMAN
 ALI YOUNG
 LUCIAN ZACHAROFF

Columbia University

Columbia University

New York University

The City College, N.Y.

New York University

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SCHAPPES**DEFENSE****COMMITTEE**

114 EAST 16TH STREET • NEW YORK • GRAMERCY 3-6070

Secretary: John Bridge
The City College, N. Y.FOR REVIEW

LETTERS FROM THE TOMBS: by MORRIS U. SCHAPPES

These letters were written to his wife, to Charles J. Hendley, President of the Teachers Union of New York, Professor Margaret Schlauch of N.Y.U. and other friends.

Foreword by RICHARD WRIGHT
author of "Native Son"Edited, with an appendix, by LOUIS LERMAN
author of "Winter Soldiers"

Illustrated with 5 drawings by JAMES D. EGLESON

Format: 8vo, 5½ by 8½ inches; paper cover; 128 pages

Publication date: December 20, 1941

Price: 25¢ (proceeds go to SCHAPPES DEFENSE FUND)

Published by: SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE
114 East 16 Street, New York, N.Y.To order copies: by mail: SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE
114 E. 16 St., New York
by phone: GRAMERCY 3-6070

NOTE: Please send clippings or tear sheets of your review to SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

FOR INFORMATION about the CASE OF MORRIS U. SCHAPPES consult the Appendix.

uopwa #16

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT No. 37

(Part 2)

SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE
Professor John Bridge, Secretary

114 East 16 Street
Gramercy 3-6070

FOR RELEASE
December 22, 1941

With December 29th set as the date for the filing of the appeal in the case of Morris U. Schappes, Professor John Bridge, Secretary of the SCHAPPES DEFENSE COMMITTEE, announced that new support for Mr. Schappes continues to appear in the form of Sponsors, resolutions of support, and financial contributions. The latest to join the list of Sponsors of the Committee are:

Lionel Stander, Hollywood screen star, and Broadway producer of plays like "Native Son";

John Bright, screen writer and co-author of "Brooklyn, U.S.A.", which opened last night at the Forrest Theater;

Salvatore Gentile, organizer of the Waiters and Waitresses Union, Local 1, APL.

Teachers unions throughout the country continue to extend their support. The University of Washington Local, No 401 of the American Federation of Teachers, and the Chapel Hill Teachers Union (University of North Carolina) sent in contributions of funds for the defense, and the Mercer County (N J) Teachers Union, Local 437 of the A.F.T., wrote to Governor Lehman asking him to see to it that Schappes continue his anti-fascist work without further interruption.

Similar resolutions to the Governor were sent by Lodges 11, 377, 521, and 737 of the International Workers Order in New York.

Schappes is a suspended City College teacher of English sentenced to one and a half to two years in State Prison on a charge of perjury stemming from his testimony before the Rapp-Coudert Committee. Schappes, a former member of the Communist

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT No. 37

(Part 3)

2.

Party, stated he knew of only four Communists at the City College, while witnesses for the prosecution contended he knew many more than that. Schappes is now out on \$10,000 cash bail pending appeal.

Professor Bridge also announced that about half of the first edition of 7800 of Schappes' LETTERS FROM THE TOWNS, with a foreword by Richard Wright, edited by Louis Lerman, and illustrated by James D. Egleson, has already been sold on the basis of advance orders. The book is being hailed by reviewers as both a contribution to literature and a stimulus to the anti-fascist struggle. "It is expected," said Professor Bridge, "that publication of this volume will create new interest in a case of political injustice that seems doubly outrageous now, when our country needs men like Morris U. Schappes for the mobilizing of our nation to win the war."

-000-

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 38," Mr. Chairman, which is a photostatic copy of a letterhead of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, dated April 9, 1942, which lists Reverend McMichael as one of its sponsors. It lists Jack R. McMichael.

I hand you this document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 38" and ask you if you were a sponsor of the People's Institute of Applied Religion.

Mr. Chairman, the People's Institute of Applied Religion²⁶ is a cited organization and has been cited as subversive and Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark, June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948.

Mr. VELDE. Are both of those citations by the Attorney General?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, along with the noted anti-Communist L. M. Birkhead, a bishop of the Methodist Church who was formerly—

Mr. VELDE. Was there a question pending?

Reverend McMICHAEL. There is a question, and I am answering it.

I say along with the noted anti-Communist, L. M. Birkhead, who is engaged in quite vigorous anti-Communist work, and the former

²⁶ People's Institute of Applied Religion:

1. Cited as subversive and Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released June 1, 1948, and September 21, 1948).

president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and one of the most beloved Methodist bishops and a noted anti-Communist, a professor of Yale Divinity School, I see my name listed here on the letterhead. Whether with or without my consent, I cannot say, but it—

Mr. VELDE. You don't have any memory in that regard?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of actually giving consent to it. I might be able to check on it. I don't know the thing would come up.

Mr. CLARDY. Would you have withheld it, had it been asked?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Would I—

Mr. CLARDY. Would your consent have been withheld had you been asked to allow it to be used?

Reverend McMICHAEL. At that time, or today?

Mr. CLARDY. At the time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. At that time in 1942 I think I probably would have taken the position that these anti-Communists that I referred to did.

Mr. DOYLE. What would you do today, as long as that has been raised?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No. Today I would not be a sponsor of it.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me hand you the next exhibit, which is McMichael exhibit No. 39, which is in connection with the same organization in 1948. That jumps it up 6 years, listing you as an international board member and sponsor.

Were you a member of the international board and sponsor? That is another letterhead of the same organization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is somewhat as though you were made an honorary officer of the Nazi Bund, or something, without your consent. I am sure in 1948 I was not consulted on the question.

Mr. VELDE. You have no memory?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no memory of having been consulted on it at all.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. I recognize the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. CLARDY. In connection with the last exhibit on which you say you have no recollection, was the fact ever called to your attention that your name had been used, until today?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In 1942. I am not sure of that.

Mr. CLARDY. This last date is 1948. During the interval since this document was published, was the fact that your name was used ever called to your attention, or did you discover it in any way?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I have—let me see what I have on that.

I have a statement that was called to my attention with my name.

Mr. CLARDY. I am asking you: Was it called to your attention and you knew about it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. I understand your answer is "Yes"?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. How long ago?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think it was in 1950.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you take any positive action in writing to do anything about it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No, sir. As I understand it, the organization isn't a functioning one.

Mr. CLARDY. That was not my question. Did you do anything at any time in writing concerning it?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Except to put the facts clear. Yes; to put the facts clear.

Mr. CLARDY. What did you do?

Reverend McMICHAEL. You want to hear this?

Mr. CLARDY. No; I don't want to hear. I am just asking you to tell me the nature of what you did.

Reverend McMICHAEL. The nature of what I did was to set the facts straight.

Mr. CLARDY. To whom?

Reverend McMICHAEL. To the people concerned who were the members of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all you did?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. You made no public speeches about it as you have on these other subjects?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No. I made no public speeches about it.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that if the witness has a copy of an original statement he made at the time that he be allowed to read it. I don't know what it is, but it is certainly material on this issue.

Mr. CLARDY. I shall object to it. I did not ask for that.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy has a right to ask a question.

Mr. DOYLE. Certainly he has.

Mr. VELDE. The question has been answered.

Mr. DOYLE. No. It has not been answered, in my judgment.

Mr. CLARDY. I am satisfied with the answer, Mr. Doyle, and I don't care to ask this witness to deliver any more sermons from the stand.

Mr. DOYLE. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, my colleague has brought this out and we should have the full information in the record.

Mr. VELDE. Do you want to ask a question, Mr. Doyle, or do you want to argue with the gentleman from Michigan? As I said before, there is no purpose that can be fulfilled in the jurisdiction of this committee by arguing among the members. You are busy, and we are all busy with other things.

Mr. DOYLE. The only way I know is to raise an objection. If that starts an argument, I can't help it.

Mr. VELDE. Would the gentleman care to ask a question of the witness?

Mr. DOYLE. I would be highly honored to have that privilege.

Mr. VELDE. You have the floor.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask the witness, please. You referred to some copy of some statement that you made with reference to the subject matter about which you were interrogated by my distinguished colleague from Michigan, Mr. Clardy, just now. I have asked, Mr. Chairman, that the witness be privileged to read that, if it isn't too long.

Mr. VELDE. You have been granted permission to ask a question. Will you wait until the witness has a chance to answer without making suggestions to the Chair?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is there a question for me to read this?

Mr. DOYLE. If you want me to ask the witness to read it, I will do that. If you have possession of a copy of an original statement—

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. I will ask you to read it, if that is the way the chairman wants me to ask it.

Mr. CLARDY. May I interrupt and suggest that we are now beyond the announced hour for adjournment, and that be held up until after the recess?

Mr. VELDE. Is that satisfactory?

Mr. DOYLE. It is satisfactory. Yes, indeed.

Mr. VELDE. All right. The committee will stand in recess for 1½ hours.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 1:45 p. m., same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

(At the hour of 2:59 p. m., of the same day, the hearing was resumed, the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Francis E. Walter, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Mr. Reporter, let the record show that present are Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Walter, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Doyle, and the chairman, a quorum of the full committee.

Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF REV. JACK R. McMICHAEL, ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, FRANK J. DONNER—Resumed

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I believe we were at the point of the reading of a statement, which was just about to be read, as we adjourned for lunch, that is, the reading of a statement by Reverend McMichael.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I might explain, Mr. Chairman, that this—the statement is a statement in reply to the question as it came up within our Methodist Federation of Social Action and as it was thoroughly considered by our members there.

Mr. VELDE. It might be helpful if the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle, would repeat the question that he had pending at the time of the recess.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, thanks for the compliment. I don't remember the exact wording of it, Mr. Chairman. Maybe the shorthand reporter will give it to us.

Mr. VELDE. Do you have it?

Mr. DOYLE. I am sorry, I don't remember the exact wording of my question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I might say—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

(The reporter read the question as follows:)

I will ask you to read it if that is the way the chairman wants me to ask it.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle asked you to read the statement.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. VELDE. Will you confine your answer to the reading of the statement?

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

This document, alleging my association with the People's Institute of Applied Religion, stated:

We have received great help from material given us by Leon Birkhead of the Friends of Democracy—

who stated that my name had appeared on an old letterhead of the organization.

This is interesting, for Mr. Birkhead's name also appears on an old letterhead of the People's Institute of Applied Religion.

Mr. VELDE. Will the witness please answer the question as submitted by Mr. Doyle, without going into—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. An explanation?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I thought you wanted me to read this material. I thought that was what you wanted.

Mr. VELDE. That is right.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, that's what I'm doing.

Mr. VELDE. It isn't what the Chair wanted, incidentally.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. VELDE. It is what the gentleman from California, Mr. Doyle, wanted.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

If Mr. Doyle is not satisfied at any time, I would appreciate it if he would tell me.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, Mr. Chairman, may I make it clear to the witness all I ask that you have the privilege of doing is reading the copy of your original statement that you testified you had before you.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. This statement—

Mr. DOYLE. Now, that is all.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right.

Shall I read the entire statement, Mr. Doyle?

Mr. DOYLE. I have no idea how long it is.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was trying to save the time of the committee, Mr. Chairman. I was trying to cut it a little bit short. It's 2 or 3 pages.

Mr. SCHERER. Pick out the best parts suitable to you?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I wasn't trying to do that.

I'll read the entire thing, if that's what you would like, Mr. Scherer. I just wanted you to decide on it. I'll be glad to read the entire statement.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman, may I ask—

Mr. VELDE. Will it be satisfactory to the gentleman from California if the document he has is submitted for evidence?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes, to save time.

Mr. VELDE. What is the next number, please?

Mr. COOPER. Thirty-nine, sir, was the last one.

Mr. VELDE. The last—

Mr. KUNZIG. The last number is 39. We can make it 39-A.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, the statement of the witness, which he has before him, will be marked "Exhibit—"

(The witness did not leave a copy of this statement with the committee, and therefore it cannot be introduced as evidence.)

Mr. VELDE. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question of the witness?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Witness, what did you say—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER (continuing). Your connection was with the People's Institute of Applied Religion?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Perhaps the secretary here could read that. I don't know just what—what the question was.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, I don't want him to read it. Will you just tell me what your position—

Reverend McMICHAEL. What I said?

Mr. SCHERER. Well, just—

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you want to know that, why, I'm sure the exact wording would be recorded, Mr. Scherer. That would be the best way to find out that.

Mr. SCHERER. I am asking you now—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, and I—

Mr. SCHERER. Will you answer the question as to what you said your relationship was with the People's Institute of Applied Religion?

Reverend McMICHAEL. And I refer you to the fact that we have taken a verbatim transcript here, and I'll be glad to have it read.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer my question.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly the question is simple and the answer—

Reverend McMICHAEL. The question is simple.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Can be simple, and you are directed to answer that, Reverend McMichael.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm directed to answer the question as to just what—in what words I stated—

Mr. VELDE. Would you like to have the question repeated?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to say, sir—

Mr. VELDE. Now, just a minute. Do you know what the question is?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The wording—

Mr. VELDE. Do you know what the question is?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The wording of my previous answer, which was before the recess, is undoubtedly here and would be available to us.

Mr. VELDE. Would you repeat the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you want the information, we have an accurate source of it here.

Don't you—you're taking a transcript.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you read my question?

(The reporter read the question as follows:)

Mr. Witness, what did you say your connection was with the People's Institute of Applied Religion?

(At this point Reverend McMichael conferred with Mr. Donner.)

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, as I recall it, from this morning—and we could go back to the transcript to find out just exactly what it was—the question was raised in connection with a letterhead, and I indicated in response to several questions that were asked, that along with such anti-Communist leaders as the dean of the Divinity

School of Yale, Dr. Liston Pope, Dr. L. M. Birkhead of the Friends of Democracy, who is engaged—

Mr. WALTER. Why don't you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. To a great extent in anti-Communist—

Mr. WALTER. Why don't you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought I was. I am trying the best I can.

Mr. CLARDY. No; you are not. You are not even trying.

Mr. WALTER. What was your connection with this organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is that the question, sir?

Mr. WALTER. I don't know.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I thought the question was—how did I answer the question.

It came up in specific reference to a letterhead, as I recall, and the statement was made that—was my name—was my name on this letterhead, and I indicated that, along with these anti-Communist leaders, to whom I've referred, my name was on the letterhead.

The question was asked—I think it was by you, sir, Mr. Doyle—as to whether I would consent to—for it to be on the letterhead today, and that was—to that question I responded no, because I would feel that—to explain that, that I would not have an opportunity to participate in any way in the formulation of decisions; and I want to be a part of, actually have a voice in, anything that I would be on the letterhead today.

Mr. SCHERER. I will ask you again: What was your affiliation with the People's Institute of Applied Religion?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Now, that is a separate question. I'll be glad to answer that—

Mr. VELDE. If you will, please—

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). Except that—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Answer the question, instead of making a speech.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, let me indicate that Mr. Doyle asked me to read a statement, and in—

Mr. SCHERER. Listen, I don't care what Mr. Doyle asked.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, Mr. Doyle—

Mr. SCHERER. Answer my question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is a member of this committee—

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And Mr. Doyle asked—

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Doyle doesn't have the floor. I have the floor, and you are to answer a question—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have not answered the previous question, and the answer to that question will answer your question, sir, and will do it fairly.

Mr. VELDE. Answer the question that is pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. From the—

Mr. VELDE. From the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Scherer.

Reverend McMICHAEL. To help you and save time, I offered not to read this statement; but the statement will show my connection.

Now, then—

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to answer my question.

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Let's keep this record straight.

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right. All right.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly the gentleman——

Reverend McMICHAEL. All right; I'll be glad——

Mr. VELDE. From Ohio is entirely correct. The answer can be simple——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; that's right.

Mr. VELDE. The question being a simple question. So will you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. My first——

Mr. VELDE. Please answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I'll answer it.

My first connection, as I recall, Mr. Chairman, was in the summer of 1941 when, working under the Home Missions Council, engaged in religious work with farm folk in northeastern Arkansas, I was directed by the director of the council to cooperate with the director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion; and, as I recall, I made my first association with that organization and with its director under that directive that I received from the director of the Home Missions Council, which was connected with the Federal Council of Churches, because he felt that this group, that particular—its director was doing significant work in helping sharecropper preachers, poor preachers, to——

Mr. VELDE. Well, I don't think you are qualified to say before this committee of Congress what somebody else felt. We just ask you to answer——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm explaining——

Mr. VELDE (continuing). The question.

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). My association with the organization, sir.

Mr. VELDE. You were connected with the People's Institute——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was connected——

Mr. VELDE. Of Applied Religion?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Myself with the Home Missions Council of North America, which was part of the Federal Council of Churches. I was employed by them, Mr. Chairman, for rural church work, and——

Mr. WALTER. Is that an answer?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In that connection——

Mr. WALTER. Isn't that enough?

Reverend McMICHAEL. In connection with that work—in part of my assignment, I was asked to work with the director of the People's Institute of Applied Religion. In coming to know some of the poor preachers, the sharecropper preachers, and in studying with them the religion of the Bible, in the interest of coming to know them and helping them in their work——

Mr. VELDE. You did——

Reverend McMICHAEL. We were directed——

Mr. VELDE. You did associate yourself with the director of the Institute of Applied Religion——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was associated myself——

Mr. VELDE (continuing). And in the work they were doing?

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). With the Home Missions Council.

Mr. VELDE. Is that true?

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is true and I am explaining that association.

I associated myself as a part of my work with the Home Missions Council of North America. This did not involve membership in the organization. It did involve work that I was supposed to do as a part of my assignment by the Home Missions Council, and the work consisted largely of Bible study groups, and the supplementary work that my Presbyterian colleague and I did was to—give recreational opportunities to sharecropper young people and children.

If you want my feeling about that at all, if you're interested in that, I'll be glad—

Mr. SCHERER. No; I'm—

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). To testify—

Mr. SCHERER (continuing). Not interested in your feeling.

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). About that; but that was—

Mr. SCHERER. I am interested in your connection.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That was the connection. It came through the Home Missions Council.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, this morning when you were showed this exhibit, on which your name appears as one of the members of the board of international sponsors, you picked out a few names and read them. You, however, omitted to read the very first one that appears on the first page, Winifred L. Chappell, and you also failed to read Cedric Belfrage.

Now, you know that Cedric Belfrage has just been arrested and ordered deported: do you not?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I—I don't know about the order of deportation. I don't know. I knew he was under arrest. I thought he was out.

And with reference—

Mr. SCHERER. And that—

Mr. VELDE. Now, were you acquainted—. If the gentleman will yield—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Were you acquainted with Cedric Belfrage?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I have met Cedric Belfrage.

And let me say also that one of the most tragic things, it seems to me, that has happened in a long time is the defaming of the name of Winifred Chappell, who died courageously, in great spirits, some time ago by this committee in releasing these charges against a dead woman who was a deaconess in the Methodist Church.

I have been very deeply hurt by that, and I think a lot of the people who knew it were.

It seems to me you would refrain from making accusations against dead people.

Mr. SCHERER. You did not read her name?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I read her name in the paper, sir, as having been released by this committee.

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute.

When you read these names before lunch; you didn't read the very first name, Winifred Chappell?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I didn't. I didn't read the names—

Mr. SCHERER. Did you purposely omit reading those names?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I purposely read——

Mr. SCHERER. Just a minute. Let me finish.

Did you purposely refrain from reading those names of these two people you said you knew?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I didn't purposely——

Mr. SCHERER. Did you do that willfully?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer to that is that I wanted to indicate that their names—that there were names of people there——

Mr. SCHERER. Was it——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Whose names, being here, would show that a person on that letterhead would not have the characterization which apparently you were intending to give me as a Christian minister.

Mr. SCHERER. And wasn't it because you knew these two individuals intimately and you knew of their background that you didn't want to associate yourself with them this morning——

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer to that——

Mr. SCHERER (continuing). And that you——

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). Is "No."

Mr. SCHERER (continuing). Willfully refused to read those names?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer to that is "No"——

Mr. SCHERER. I expected——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And, as I said before——

Mr. SCHERER (continuing). That answer to be "No."

Reverend McMICHAEL. The answer to that is "No," and, as I said before, I think nothing unfairer has happened than that attack on a dead woman, who was a deaconess in the Methodist Church——

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And loved and honored by many people.

Mr. SCHERER. Was she associated with you in the Methodist Federation for Social Action?

Reverend McMICHAEL. As a matter of fact, her work for the Methodist Federation for Social Action, which we were told was not under investigation here yesterday, preceded by some years, sir, my connection with the organization.

Mr. WALTER. Was this the Communist——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I might say that I am not ashamed at all in having known Winifred Chappell. I am only ashamed of this committee in releasing charges against her.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Mr. Walter.

Mr. CLARDY. Will the gentleman yield just a minute?

Mr. WALTER. Was she a known Communist?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I never knew her as a Communist.

Mr. SCHERER. She was identified as such.

Reverend McMICHAEL. She was identified by people who lied, as far as the testimony about me is concerned.

Mr. SCHERER. Everybody lies but you, Reverend.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

If you are going to make accusations——

Mr. VELDE. May I remind——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would like to have the opportunity of replying.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Everybody doesn't lie according to me.

Mr. VELDE. This is a hearing to determine the extent of subversive activities in which the witness has been engaged, so that we might do our duty as imposed upon us by Congress.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is this an investigation of the clergy, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. WALTER. No; of course not.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Is this an investigation of a clergyman?

Mr. WALTER. No.

Mr. VELDE. Certainly it isn't an investigation of the clergy or of the church.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I just want to say—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. I recognized the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I just want to say, Mr. Chairman, that in this part of my duties, as a clergyman, I was under assignment to associate with that organization.

Mr. WALTER. This is an investigation of an individual who has been identified as being a Communist. This individual happens to be a clergyman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wonder if it happens to be related to the fact that Bishop Oxnam has said you couldn't find any—

Mr. CLARDY. Regular order, Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And Mr. Matthews has written an article, and you are going to hear him.

Mr. WALTER. Well, just a minute.

Mr. VELDE. Let me remind the witness once again: You are here to answer questions and not to ask them—

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Please.

Mr. WALTER. I wonder if the witness read what Mr. Poling had to say on yesterday.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No. I'd be glad to see it, sir. I didn't read it. If you have it to share with me, I'll be glad to read it. I didn't read it.

Mr. WALTER. Well, for your information, he said Mr. Matthews had experienced no difficulty whatsoever in naming 7,000 individuals who are Communists who happened to be clergymen.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That serves to prove my point—this is the beginning of an attack on the Protestant Church.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Your statement, Mr. Walter, proves what I have in mind, and a lot of Protestants will see it, sir.

Mr. WALTER. Well you are not fooling me—

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. WALTER (continuing). By your conduct and the act you are putting on here. You are not deceiving me for 1 second.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I appreciate your honesty, sir.

Mr. WALTER. That's right.

Mr. SCHERER. It is the typical tactics that have been followed by the Communists who have appeared before us.

Mr. WALTER. They haven't been so clever.

Mr. SCHERER. No; they haven't been as contemptuous either.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You are going to have a lot of trouble if you go after 7,000 Protestant clergymen in the way you are going after me, in denying——

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. We will be in regular order.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Michigan, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Witness, the second name Mr. Scherer called to your attention and which you omitted when you were making your statement earlier this morning——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I omitted a lot——

Mr. CLARDY. Was Cedric Belfrage.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Of names.

Mr. CLARDY. Please do not interrupt.

You are exhibiting probably the greatest amount of contempt that any witness has ever exhibited, and it is with a great deal of difficulty that we restrain ourselves from having you removed forcibly from the stand. Now, don't try our patience too far.

But let's get back to the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Don't try mine too far.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you please remain silent when we are talking to you, sir. You have no right, and you must have had a very poor background——

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you would question me——

Mr. CLARDY. To be able to do what you are doing, and what you have been doing throughout this hearing.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If you would question me instead of accusing me, I would remain silent.

I am not here to be accused. I am here to answer questions.

Mr. CLARDY. And you are going to be asked one, and you can answer it yes or no, and it is this: Did you know Cedric Belfrage well?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I knew him.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know him well?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well, I think I know him well.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you associate with him in a number of organizations?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you associate with him in any organizations?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

I recall Miss Chappell——

Mr. CLARDY. I am not asking you——

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). In that connection——

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). Anything about Miss Chappell. I am talking about Mr. Belfrage. Stay on the subject.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recall being associated with him in that organization.

Mr. CLARDY. What organization?

I didn't name one.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am sorry. I think the record will show——

Mr. CLARDY. I asked if you had been associated with him in any organization.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, were you or not?

That may be funny to you, but it is serious business to us.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; what I'm thinking about is the fifth chapter of Luke, when Jesus, associating with publicans and sinners——

Mr. CLARDY. That is not an answer to the question, and will you please quit likening yourself to Christ?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not likening myself to Him, but I assure you He associated with publicans and sinners——

Mr. CLARDY. Will you answer my question——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And if He were alive today——

Mr. CLARDY. Yes or no?

Reverend McMICHAEL. He would have been called before this committee a long time ago because of guilt by association.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you answer my question?

Mr. VELDE. Will the witness please answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The question is——

Mr. CLARDY. Were you associated with him in any organization?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. CLARDY. None whatever?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. CLARDY. That, of course, is not quite the answer.

Now, did you know and do you know now that Cedric Belfrage has been identified publicly as an avowed member of the Communist Party?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm not in the habit of confusing accusation with reality, sir——

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And I'm aware of the fact the accusation has been made; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know there was sworn testimony taken before this committee identifying him as a Communist, and that it was on that basis that deportation proceedings have been commenced against him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. You want to deport me to Georgia?

Such accusations are made against me, under sworn testimony, but they're lies.

Mr. WALTER. But the only difference is nobody can be deported unless they have had a trial, or until they have had a trial in court.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Sure.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, let's just get back to my question: Did you know those things I was telling you?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Did I know that it was before—before this committee——

Mr. CLARDY. I will repeat it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; please do.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know that he had been publicly identified before this committee in sworn testimony as a member of the Communist Party, and that it was upon the basis of that largely at least that his deportation proceedings were instituted?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Guilt by accusation being very un-American. I—I don't accept the charges against anyone until they're proven——

Mr. CLARDY. My question was——

Reverend McMICHAEL. In regular courts.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know those facts?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have read facts.

Mr. CLARDY. Did you know that prior to his appearance before our committee he had been identified by Elizabeth Bentley as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, Mr. Chairman, may I just interrupt here: What is the materiality of this for the purpose of our investigation?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's a good question.

You're supposed to be getting facts for legislation.

Mr. DOYLE. I just don't see—

Reverend McMICHAEL. What legislation are you going to get out of that?

Mr. VELDE. Well—

Mr. CLARDY. I would like to explain for Mr. Doyle, if I may.

Mr. DOYLE. You don't need to explain. I don't see the materiality of taking the time of the committee in this line of questioning.

Mr. CLARDY. I have a definite purpose. I am endeavoring, Mr. Doyle, to demonstrate the fact that this man has associated with persons who were publicly identified as Communists.

Mr. DOYLE. This man has testified—

Mr. CLARDY. Now, he was asked this morning—

Mr. DOYLE. That he—

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, Mr. Doyle.

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). Whether or not he ever associated—

Mr. DOYLE. I will yield.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair will recognize the gentleman from California as soon as the gentleman from Michigan has finished.

Mr. CLARDY. I think I ought to make it clear, Mr. Doyle, that since this morning some self-serving statements were made by the witness, as Mr. Scherer has so well developed, by omitting to name known Communists on the same list—

Reverend McMICHAEL. They weren't known to me that way.

Mr. CLARDY. I am endeavoring to demonstrate, whether he did it willfully or not, that there were Communists with whom he associated on that same list, so that the record may be absolutely correct and complete in that it shows both sides of the picture.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Let me make—

Mr. CLARDY. Now—

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from California—

Mr. CLARDY. All right.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, Mr. Chairman, I find myself in a very uncomfortable position, because I am certainly not trying to—well, I know hardly how to put it, but I find myself in a position where I feel that the witness on some occasions is not being allowed to present his side of whatever controversy we are in.

I do say this: I think in view of the committee members now opening up the matter of these lists, which they have, they have opened up now the subject of these lists, and I submit that, under any fair rule of procedure, opens up to this witness the privilege of reading any other names he wants on any of these lists.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, they are all in the record.

Mr. DOYLE. No; no.

Reverend McMICHAEL. But the record the press is getting is only what you select.

Mr. DOYLE. No. I think——

Mr. WALTER. But, you see——

Mr. VELDE. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WALTER. You seem to overlook the fact he was not honest.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, now, I don't think——

Mr. WALTER. He was not entirely honest in reading the list because he didn't read the entire list.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I didn't purport to be reading the entire list. I never made no such claim.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Walter, you weren't able to be here this morning.

Mr. WALTER. I know, but I have been here long enough now to insist the rules of procedure of this committee be followed and that the questioning be done by counsel and that the members refrain from asking questions until the counsel has completed his examination.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, that is so ordered.

Will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I offer McMichael exhibits Nos. 38 and 39 in evidence at this time.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, they will be received in evidence.

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 38

APR 10 1942

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION

313 SOUTHEAST FIRST STREET • EVANSVILLE • INDIANA

—CLAUDE C. WILLIAMS

W WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL
RIPAP REPRESENTATIVE

— EDNA JOYCE KING
OFFICE SECRETARY

April 9, 1942

Mr. Max Bedacht
International Workers Order
80 Fifth Ave, New York

Dear Mr. Bodacht-

As you suggest, I am putting into writing my request for a contribution from the International "Workers Order, toward the \$300 that the forthcoming "Institute" of the People's Institute of Applied Religion will cost.

I enclose a program (which you saw in another form) and with it a little WHO'S WHO of our discussion leaders at this institute.

I enclose also a general communication from Orlaude Williams, Director of the People's Institute; and a letter from one of our rural preachers illustrating how the program gets into action among the people toward the ends that we so earnestly seek.

The Dixie Demagogues use the Bible among the religiously-conditioned folk of the "Bible Belt" toward unsocial ends.

The People's Institute is using the Bible-- legitimately-- to lead the people toward Democracy.

You will see by the letterhead that most, though not all, of our sponsors are church leaders. It is the firm conviction of Gladys Williams that the church people, since the Christian Church has been the chief sinner in promoting anti-Semitism, should bear the responsibility of supporting financially our work which is directed against anti-Semitism and racism.

But as a member of the IWO and one who knows its broad social interest, I am taking the liberty of appealing to you for help.

I can thank of no more useful place to invest a little money than in this institute from which-- as from each of our former ones-- will go men who will use their Bibles toward meeting the bread-and-meat problems of the people; and toward leading them in the effort for national unity against Hitler and Hitlerism, abroad and here.

Sincerely,

Winifred L. Chappell
136 E 17, New York, N.Y.
Gr3-9851.



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(The photostatic copy of the letter of January 1, 1948, on the letter-head of the People's Institute of Applied Religion, was marked and received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 39.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 39

(Part 1)



"PREPARE YE THE WAY OF THE PEOPLE. CAST UP, CAST UP THE HIGHWAY; GATHER OUT THE STONES, LIFT UP A STANDARD FOR THE PEOPLE." ISAIAH 62:10

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE OF APPLIED RELIGION

4105½ THIRD AVENUE, SOUTH — BIRMINGHAM 6, ALABAMA — TELEPHONE 59-1422

CLAUDE C. WILLIAMS
D I R E C T O R

EDNA JOYCE KING
E X E C U T I V E S E C R E T A R Y

January 1, 1948

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(over)

TO ALL NATIONAL BOARD MEMBERS GREETINGS:

This letter is designed to be personal to each of our NATIONAL BOARD MEMBERS. Each one of you has endorsed the program of the Institute. You have followed its activities. You know the importance of its work. You know that the issues before us in 1948 make its work more important than ever before. You also know that the very factors which make the work more important make doing the work more difficult than ever before. Therefore, it is necessary for me to state our problems more frankly to you than it was needful to do in our general report to other FRIENDS.

I do hope that you have found time to read and appraise our recent general report. In it we named five dynamic and experienced leaders who desire, and are available, to devote their entire time to field work with the Institute. One of these leaders, the Rev. Archer Torrey, is with me in the office today. Tomorrow he will return to Georgia with only one hundred dollars to begin his work with us on faith - faith in the program of the Institute; faith in the common people, and faith that the liberal friends of the Institute will enable him to remain active with the people on the field. Young Ruben Archer Torrey III has just resigned a challenging pastorate to undertake this work.

The five leaders we named in our report and all office overhead, including a secretary can be maintained for full-time work throughout this whole year on a budget of only twelve thousand dollars. And may I again emphasize my personal conviction, that no other group could reach as many thousands of rural people, in so effective a way and enlist them for such positive action in 1948 as this group of leaders. In fact, no other progressive group could reach the people these leaders would reach. PERIOD! And may I presume to state a further conviction - and with all deference due - that some progressive groups will spend much more and reach fewer people in less strategic areas. Let me briefly suggest what might be done:

Rev. Torrey is returning to Georgia with instructions to give full-time work with the "Gideon Army" (Liberal groups) forces of the state, especially emphasizing work with the hills people. To initiate this work, Torrey is to visit Rev. J. L. Jordan, Business Manager of the Pentecostal Holiness Church, publications, Franklin Springs, Ga., and take steps to set up a possible two-day Institute for the scores of Pentecostal pastors in Georgia. Gerald Harris is waiting for an economic basis to be provided for him to visit Bishop Oliver Mills, National Secretary of the Church of God, Red Bay, Ala., and propose an Institute for the more than one C. of G. pastors in Alabama. Mills

CONTRIBUTIONS MADE TO THE INSTITUTE ARE DEDUCTIBLE FROM FEDERAL INCOME TAX

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 39

(Part 2)

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*Organizations are listed for the purpose of identification only.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have a document marked "McMichael Exhibit No. 40," Mr. Chairman. It is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of February 17, 1942, page 3, showing the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder²⁷ announced Jack McMichael to be among the sponsors

²⁷ Citizens' Committee To Free Earl Browder:

1. Cited as Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letter to Loyalty Review Board, released April 27, 1949).

2. Cited as a Communist organization (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7687).

3. When Earl Browder (then general secretary, Communist Party) was in Atlanta Penitentiary serving a sentence involving his fraudulent passports; the Communist Party's

of the National Free Browder Congress to be held in New York City on March 28, 29, 1942.

Now, I hand you this document and ask you whether you were among the sponsors of the National Free Browder Congress at the time mentioned in that exhibit.

I will also at the same time give you "McMichael Exhibit No. 41," which is a photostatic copy of the Daily Worker of February 24, 1942, showing that Jack McMichael was a speaker at a conference held February 21, 1942, at the Fraternal Club House, New York City, under the auspices of the Youth Committee of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Those two have to do and relate with the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

Mr. Chairman, the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder was cited as Communist by the Attorney General, Tom Clark, in 1949; cited as a Communist organization in 1942 by the Attorney General, Francis Biddle; was cited in 1944 by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, and in 1947 by the California Committee.

Those are the citations with regard to this Communist-front organization.

My question was whether you were a sponsor of the National Free Browder Congress, and then my next question will refer to the other exhibit.

Reverend McMICHAEL. In 1942, Mr. Chairman, after Pearl Harbor, along with Rev. Harry Emerson Fosdick and the Very Reverend Dean Elwood L. Hayes and John Wharton Pepper, William Draper Lewis, and the chairman of the Committee on National Morale, Arthur Upham Pope, I did join in urging President Roosevelt to free Mr. Browder, who was in prison for an offense for which others were not imprisoned for so long a time and suggesting political discrimination; and, as you recall, President Roosevelt did issue a statement himself agreeing with that position, and did free Mr. Browder.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, may I ask the witness a question at this point?

Mr. VELDE. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Ohio, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Yesterday there was considerable discussion and testimony made with reference to the meeting of the Ohio Youth Congress at the Southern Hotel in 1940. There was a question as to whether it was in May or June. It now has been definitely established by the newspapers from Columbus, Ohio, and another source, that conference was held on Saturday and Sunday, June the 22d and 23d, of 1940.

Now, witness, I am going to ask you whether or not you were not the American Youth Congress chairman at that time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was, sir. I testified to that yesterday.

Mr. SCHERER. And did you—

Reverend McMICHAEL. As a representative of the Student YMCA, I had been sent to the Youth Congress to represent them by the Student YMCA.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know Joseph Cadden?

front which agitated for his release was known as the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder * * * Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, one of the few outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party in this country, headed it" (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, pp. 6 and 55).

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes. He was the—he was an officer of the Youth Congress.

Mr. SCHERER. And did you know Robert (Bobbie) Thompson, the AYC secretary?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I recall from that affidavit that his name was mentioned, and I do not recall that he was, as designated there, AYC secretary; but it's a matter of record and we can easily find out.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, did you know—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think it will be shown that is false, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know Robert Thompson?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I do not recall knowing him.

Mr. SCHERER. Well—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I would have. If he was in the Youth Congress, I probably did; but there were a lot of young people there. I don't remember all of them.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't that the same Robert Thompson who later became general secretary of the Communist Party of New York?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Perhaps you could answer that, sir. As I've indicated, I don't recall knowing him; but I could have, because—

Mr. SCHERER. Well, isn't it a fact you do know that was the same Robert Thompson who was the Secretary of the Communist Party of New York?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm not an authority on who the officers of the Communist Party of New York are.

Mr. SCHERER. And you know that—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'll be glad to take information from you, sir, but I'm a poor one to give it on who the officers of the Communist Party of New York—that's not been my field of study. I've been years studying other things that have to do with the Methodist ministry.

Mr. VELDE. That isn't responsive to the question.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Well—

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Reverend McMICHAEL. If he wants information, perhaps he has it already.

Mr. SCHERER. And isn't it a fact that you know it is the same Robert Thompson who was convicted in the New York Federal Court for teaching the overthrow of the American Government by force and violence, and he jumped bail and is still out?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, as I understand it, the charge—and that's a matter of record—the charge was conspiracy to teach it, not actually teaching it.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Justice Black's decision makes it clear there was no charge they actually taught it—

Mr. SCHERER. Did you know—

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). Only they conspired—

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer—

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). At some future time—

Mr. VELDE (continuing). The question?

Reverend McMICHAEL (continuing). To teach it.

Mr. VELDE. All we are asking—

Reverend McMICHAEL. He makes a statement about it. I don't agree with it. I think it is a matter of fact——

Mr. WALTER. Well, you have been studying more than in the field of the Methodist ministry.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have been studying in the civil-liberties field, and I have been interested in protecting the liberties of all Americans, without exception.

Mr. WALTER. A little law on the side, too.

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I'm not a lawyer.

Mr. WALTER. No; I know that, of course.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no legal training. It's a little difficult for me to avoid being trapped, as a result of not being a lawyer, apparently.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that Joseph Cadden and Robert Thompson were speakers with you at the Ohio Youth Congress on either or both of the dates of June 22 and June 23, 1940, in Columbus, Ohio?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I appreciate your question, Mr. Scherer. I assure you I do not recall being at the meeting. I do not recall it. I think it is subject to further inquiry.

If I was there, I want very much the record to show it, because I certainly attended meetings of the Youth Congress. I just don't happen to recall it.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, yesterday you positively testified you were not at the Youth Congress meeting in Columbus, Ohio——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I challenge that statement, Mr. Scherer——

Mr. SCHERER. And that you were——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And I ask the recorder to read what I stated yesterday.

Mr. SCHERER. And that you were in Arkansas——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes, according to my recollection——

Mr. SCHERER. At that time.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was in Arkansas.

Mr. SCHERER. You were in Arkansas——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And I stated that can be found out. That is a matter of record.

Mr. SCHERER. And that you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. These things can be found out.

Mr. SCHERER. And that you further stated there was no record in your diary of any date you had or engagement you had after June the 4th of that year?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I did, and that remains true, unless somebody put it there, which I don't believe.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, I am asking you again: Isn't it a fact that you and Robert Thompson—the Robert Thompson who has been convicted in the Federal courts—and Joseph Cadden were the principal speakers at the Columbus Youth meeting on June 22?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's a fact—and has been for quite a while—that this charge has been made by the Edmestons. I don't recall it; and if it was true, I would certainly have no hesitancy in confessing it, sir, and I'll be eager to try to get the answer, if you want information and want me to try to find out.

There must be some records if a meeting was held and if I was there. There must be some way to demonstrate that. I don't recall it.

And as to whether I was in Arkansas—there is a source of information on that, and I intend to look it up, sir, to find out from the home—the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church what their records show.

Mr. SCHERER. We will let the records show what you testified yesterday.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I think the record should show that.

Mr. SCHERER. It sure does show it.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is a true——

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Reverend McMICHAEL. An accusation has been made once more. Time after time accusations have been made and I have no opportunity to answer them.

Mr. VELDE. There is no question pending.

Proceed, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact——

Reverend McMICHAEL. You don't give the American citizens many rights here——

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Jack Perloff?

Reverend McMICHAEL. To answer these accusations.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you know Jack Perloff?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't recall knowing him.

Mr. SCHERER. You don't recall?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No.

Mr. SCHERER. You won't say you didn't know him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Oh, no; I wouldn't say I didn't know him. There are a lot of people——

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact you do know him as well as you know Belfrage?

Reverend McMICHAEL. No; I wouldn't say that. No.

Mr. SCHERER. How well do you know him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I know that's not true.

Mr. SCHERER. How well do you know him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. How well do I——

Mr. SCHERER. Know him.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I just testified I am not a lawyer, but I didn't get my eyeteeth yesterday either. I just testified I didn't know him.

I have nothing to hide about it. If I knew him, I would have told you.

I told you I knew Mr. Belfrage——

Mr. SCHERER. Do you——

Reverend McMICHAEL. And I told you I was proud to have known Miss Chappell, a deaconess in the Methodist Church, whose character and reputation was defamed——

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Reverend McMICHAEL. By this committee after she was dead.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. I move that be stricken, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. That will be stricken from the record——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wish you would strike these accusations, Mr. Chairman, that I can't answer here.

Mr. VELDE. And the Chair must insist——

Reverend McMICHAEL. You are not my master, Mr. Scherer. I am an American citizen, and you are supposed to be my servant.

Mr. SCHERER. I am not your servant.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You referred to blasphemy this morning. That applies to God, and you're not God.

Mr. SCHERER. All right, now, wasn't the Jack Perloff you knew as a member of the Communist Party at that very meeting in Columbus with you?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm really not—not quite aware of why you continue with these questions, sir. If you're trying to trick or trap me, go right ahead, if that's what you want to do with the Methodist preachers you bring before this body.

I thought there was a ruling some time ago the counsel was going to ask questions. It's all right, but you're violating your own ruling here.

Mr. VELDE. Will the witness please refrain——

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's all right.

Mr. VELDE. From making voluntary statements?

Reverend McMICHAEL. The record will show you made one ruling and you are carrying out another.

Mr. VELDE. The statements, without objection, that the witness has just made will be stricken from the record.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I protest.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, isn't it a fact that on June 22 or June 23, on the mezzanine floor of a Columbus, Ohio, hotel that you, with E. S. Grattan, who was the Communist Party secretary, Jack Perloff, YCL organizer, Joseph Socloff, Communist Party organizer, engaged in a conversation with Martha Edmiston and John Edmiston, and also Robert Thompson was there? Isn't that a fact?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I appreciate your being specific.

I have no evidence that it's a fact, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Well, you wouldn't deny that was a fact?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I deny that I have any memory of it whatsoever—any memory whatsoever of it.

Mr. SCHERER. All right.

Isn't it a fact that the one subject of that conference——

Reverend McMICHAEL. I just said, sir—you're being very unfair to me——

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. And the record will show that.

Mr. VELDE. Will you answer the question?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have no recollection of the conference, and then you are going to ask me questions about the content of a conference I don't recall.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact——

Reverend McMICHAEL. How can you answer a question like that?

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact——

Reverend McMICHAEL. It is impossible to answer a question like that.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact that the subject of that conference——

Reverend McMICHAEL. How can I answer questions about a conference I don't recall?

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

The voluntary remarks of the witness will be stricken from the record, without objection.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Do you see the unfairness of the questions this committee member is asking me, which the counsel is supposed to be asking?

Isn't it obvious to any lawyer the questions are unfair?

Mr. VELDE. The questions asked by Mr. Scherer—

Reverend McMICHAEL. I am not under prosecution here.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). Are entirely proper—

Reverend McMICHAEL. You assured me of that.

Mr. VELDE (continuing). And simple questions, and the witness could answer, if he would.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You told me I was not being prosecuted, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. If you were in court—

Mr. VELDE. That statement, without objection, will be stricken from the record.

Mr. WALTER. No; I object. I think the record should show this whole performance in its entirety.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Amen. I do, too, Mr. Walter.

Mr. WALTER. I object to removing that, and it is just too bad we can't have pictures of this so that—

Reverend McMICHAEL. We ought to have a sound recording of everything that goes on here—

Mr. WALTER. Keep quiet, will you, please?

Reverend McMICHAEL. So that—

Mr. WALTER. You aren't half as funny as you think you are.

Reverend McMICHAEL. This isn't funny to me.

Mr. WALTER. Now, then—

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's very tragic—what's happening to the Bill of Rights here today—I assure you.

Mr. VELDE. The Chair will withdraw his ruling—

Reverend McMICHAEL. There's nothing humorous about it.

Mr. VELDE. And the statement will be reinserted.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I have a sense of humor, but this—

Mr. MOULDER. May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

Mr. SCHERER. Just a second.

Mr. VELDE. Will you yield to the gentleman?

Mr. SCHERER. I will yield for a question.

Mr. MOULDER. All right.

I wanted to find out, in line with your questioning, where he resided—where his residence was—on June 22 and 23 of 1940.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I believe I was in Arkansas, Mr. Moulder, but I would have to go and check the records on that because, as I indicated yesterday, after I believe the 4th of June my diary doesn't show any entries and, as I recall, I went in June—I certainly spent that period in Arkansas doing rural church work under the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., and I think that's as reliable an authority as some of the others that are being relied on there—

Mr. SCHERER. Now, then—

Reverend McMICHAEL. And we can check that.

Mr. SCHERER (continuing). Getting back to this conversation on the mezzanine floor, do you deny that you led that conversation and

the subject of the conversation was how to spot FBI agents in Communist Party meetings?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I deny that.

Mr. SCHERER. You deny that?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Surely.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, do you know Martha Edmiston and John Edmiston?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I answered that question yesterday, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Will John Edmiston step forward, please?

Reverend McMICHAEL. My answer was I didn't recall from the name.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute, please.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wanted to make it clear what the answer was.

Mr. VELDE. Just a minute. You have already made it clear.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That is all right.

Mr. SCHERER. This is John Edmiston, former undercover agent for the FBI. I want you to look at him and tell us whether you know this man or not.

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't recognize him, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. You say you don't know him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I wouldn't say I don't know him. I would say I don't recognize him.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact you know him real well?

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's not a fact I know him real well. That I deny. That I certainly deny.

Mr. SCHERER. How well do you know him?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know him, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, will you call——

Reverend McMICHAEL. As to whether I've ever seen him——

Mr. SCHERER. Martha Edmiston?

Mr. VELDE. Mrs. Edmiston, will you step forward?

Mr. Edmiston, you may retire.

Mr. SHERER. I want you to look at Martha Edmiston and tell us whether you know her?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know her, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever see her?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I may have seen her. I don't know.

Mr. WALTER. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SCHERER. You don't recall having seen her?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know.

Mr. SCHERER. Do you recall having seen her?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't know. Having seen her, I certainly don't know of her.

Mr. SCHERER. Did you ever meet her?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I don't recall having ever met her.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it a fact you met her on numerous occasions?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I'm convinced that is not a fact, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. How many occasions——

Reverend McMICHAEL. It's my policy as a Christian minister to meet all kinds of people and all kinds of folks. I certainly don't cut myself off from any of the human family at all.

Mr. SCHERER. Now, let me refresh your recollection.

Didn't you participate on a panel, with Mrs. Edmiston, devoted to the aid of China, on July 4, 1941, in Philadelphia, in the town hall?

Reverend McMICHAEL. As I testified yesterday, I was present at that meeting, and I may have here some record as to whether or not I—I was with her there.

I've got a record. If you'll give me just a moment on that, I'll see if we have any record.

What was the name of that panel you referred to?

Mr. DONNER. Aid to China.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Aid to China.

See, I have here a report of that meeting.

That was the meeting, sir, at which we took, under my leadership, a stand against an American expeditionary force——

Mr. SCHERER. I don't care what stand you took. Did you participate with this woman on a panel on July 4 in the city of Philadelphia, Pa., at the National Conference of the American Youth Congress?

Reverend McMICHAEL. I was certainly at that congress, sir. I was the chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand that.

Reverend McMICHAEL. That's right.

Mr. SCHERER. But did you participate with her on the panel?

That is the question.

Did you or did you not?

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I understand the question. I'm trying to see if there's any evidence in this report about it or not.

Mr. SCHERER. I am not asking you to look at the report.

Reverend McMICHAEL. You want me to consult my memory—only my memory?

My memory doesn't say I did, but I don't deny it, because I may have—I may have—and if I did I'm perfectly willing to find out and to say so.

I was certainly for aid to China at that time, as was the Student Christian Association. This was the time, of course, when the Japanese Army was marching into China, and that was part of our program. So, I'm convinced of that.

Mr. VELDE. The committee at this point will be in recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 2:45 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 2:55 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 2:58 p. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

Let the record show at this point that present are Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Doyle, and the chairman, a quorum of the full committee.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Chairman, I should like at this time to move the admission of Documents Nos. 40 and 41 into evidence.

Mr. VELDE. Is there objection?

Without objection, those documents will be in evidence at this point.

(The photostatic copy of p. 3 of the February 17, 1942, edition of the Daily Worker article, Union Rally for Browder Set for Tomorrow

Night, was marked and received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 40.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 40

(Daily Worker, February 17, 1942)

UNION RALLY FOR BROWDER SET FOR TOMORROW NIGHT

Outstanding labor leaders and favorite union speakers will take part tomorrow night in the first of a series of meetings sponsored by the New York Trade Union Committee to Free Earl Browder.

The meeting will be held at Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43d St., at 7:30 p. m.

The speakers at the meeting will be Ben Gold, president, United Fur and Leather Workers Union; Lewis Merrill, president, United Office and Professional Workers of America; Charles Collins, organizer, AFL Hotel and Club Employees Union Local 6; Morris Gainer, president, International Brotherhood of Painters, Local No. 905; Joseph Brodsky, noted labor attorney; Louis Weinstock, administrative secretary and William Albertson, trade-union secretary, Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder.

"This, our first trade-union mass meeting on behalf of the freedom of Earl Browder," said Ben Gold, chairman of the New York Trade Union Committee to Free Earl Browder, "is the direct result of the demands made by more than a half million New York workers for equal justice in the case of the valiant fighter for labor's rights, for this pioneer anti-Fascist who was imprisoned unjustly for 4 years on a minor and technical charge which is seldom prosecuted.

"The workers of New York want to know, why the continued imprisonment of Earl Browder? This mass meeting is the first of a series of such mass meetings planned for the city. We must free Earl Browder, now."

Many new supporters for Free Browder Congress

Scores of additional sponsors have declared their support for the National Free Browder Congress, the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder said yesterday.

The Congress will be held March 28-29, 1942, in New York City and is sponsored jointly by the Citizens' Committee and a group of trade-union officers, educators, religious leaders, and other patriotic and public-spirited citizens.

The call to the Congress in outlining the purpose of the assembly stated that "We, the undersigned, who believe that neither the ends of justice, nor the interests of the Nation in this crisis will best be served by the continued imprisonment of Earl Browder, call upon all patriotic, justice-loving Americans, upon all trade unions, fraternal, youth, and religious organizations, upon all public-spirited groups, to join in a National Free Browder Congress, on March 28-29, at Manhattan Center, New York City, for the express purpose of taking counsel together (sic.) and petitioning our President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to exercise his Executive power and correct this injustice, by granting Earl Browder his freedom."

The additional sponsors for the Congress announced today were: Prof. Karl Paul Link, University of Wisconsin, Daniel Howard, chairman, Connecticut Conference on Social and Labor Legislation; Frank Ellis, president, Minnesota State CIO; Leonard Lageman, secretary, Minnesota State CIO; Lucius Harper, managing (sic.) editor, Chicago Defender; J. Stevens, secretary, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, Seattle Local No. 1-9; Glen Kinney, delegate, AFL Washington State Machinists Council; H. E. Walters, president, Seattle AFL International Hod Carriers and Building Laborers; Arthur Upham Pope, chairman, Committee for National Morale.

Also Nicholas Tomasetti, Connecticut State representative and president of Labor's Non-Partisan League; John H. Cook, president, Hennepin County (Minnesota) Industrial Union Council; Jack R. McMichael, national chairman, American Youth Congress; Rev. George Gilbert, author, Forty Years a Country Preacher; Mel Heinritz, regional director, State, County, Municipal Workers of America; Llewellyn A. Coles, editor, Ohio State News; Roy Lampitt, AFL United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Seattle; Frank Shanks, delegate, AFL Spokane Central Labor Council; Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman, Boston, Mass.; Rev. Harold E. Bremer, director, Indianola Student Center (Methodist), Columbus, Ohio, and many others.

(The photostatic copy of p. 3 of the February 24, 1942, edition of the Daily Worker article, Youth Parley To Free Browder Speeds Drive, was marked and received in evidence as "McMichael Exhibit No. 41.")

McMICHAEL EXHIBIT NO. 41

(Daily Worker, February 24, 1942, p. 3)

YOUTH PARLEY TO FREE BROWDER SPEEDS DRIVE

Students, Labor, Fraternity and Civil Groups Press Unity in Campaign

To have Earl Browder in prison while the United States is at war with the fascist Axis makes the youth of America ashamed, Jack McMichael, national chairman of the American Youth Congress told a youth conference on freedom for Earl Browder, Saturday at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 W. 48th Street.

The conference, which was sponsored by the newly-formed Youth Division of the Citizens' Committee to Free Earl Browder, was attended by more than 120 young people, both delegates and visitors, including trade union representatives, chairmen of defense councils from settlement houses, presidents of social clubs, college clubs and fraternities, members of the YMCA and YWCA.

Calls for United Action

Maia James, youth secretary of the Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, who made the main report, told the group: "We young people rallied to the banner of the Scottsboro Boys. We made the story of Angelo Herndon a by-word among the people. We strove long years to open the doors for Tom Mooney. Yet the case of Earl Browder is even more a blot on our national honor than were these cases.

"Now is not the time for division. The cry of the hour is for unity. Our hopes—our dreams—our future—our very lives are at stake. Only a nation united in purpose, drawing upon all its resources, can destroy the enemy without and the traitors within. In the factories, in the farms, we are working with but one thought: All for the defense of our country. We say if Earl Browder has a contribution to make to his country's defense, then his release is as important as the tanks, the food, the guns, the planes."

Other speakers included David Livingston, vice president of Local 65, United Wholesale and Warehouse Workers, CIO; Esther Letz, finance secretary of Local 65; Herbert Goldenberg, secretary of Tau Alpha Omega fraternity, Brooklyn College; Maureen Austin of the Central New York YWCA and Harry Rosen, of the Bronx YMHA.

A telegram from Tom Jasper, young Negro trade unionist, assistant manager of Local 125, Fur Floor and Shipping Clerks, CIO, stated: "The Negro young people's needs are attuned to the trade unions in demanding Browder's release, because he is a most effective voice for Negro and labor progress."

A resolution adopted unanimously at the conference pledged that the youth leaders attending it would aid in the distribution of 50,000 postcards among the youth of the City, demanding Browder's release; obtain resolutions from their organizations calling on the President for executive clemency in the Browder case, and secure delegates from these organizations to the National Free Browder Congress to be held in New York City on March 28 and 29.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Which were those, Mr. Kunzig?

Mr. KUNZIG. The last two were with regard to Browder.

Mr. VELDE. May the Chair make an announcement?

The committee has unanimously decided that the witness, Mr. McMichael, may retire, under subpoena, for 1 hour, and we will proceed with the hearing of the testimony of Mr. Edmiston and Mrs. Edmiston.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, by that, I understand you to mean he will be excused for a period of 1 hour, but he will remain here in the hearing room, if he so desires?

Mr. VELDE. Well, to be available. He is still under subpoena.

Mr. MOULDER. He is not to retire from the hearing room?

Mr. VELDE. Well, not unless he wishes.

Mr. MOULDER. I see.

Mr. VELDE. Does the gentleman——

Mr. MOULDER. No; I was just wondering.

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Martha Edmiston.

Mr. VELDE. Will you stand, please, Mrs. Edmiston?

In the testimony you are about to give before the committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MARTHA N. EDMISTON

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Edmiston, will you give your full name, please, spelling it carefully for the record?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Martha Nichols—N-i-c-h-o-l-s—maiden name—Edmiston—E-d-m-i-s-t-o-n.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Edmiston, what is your present address, please?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Waynesville, rural route 2.

Mr. VELDE. Which State?

Mr. KUNZIG. Which State?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Waynesville, Ohio.

Mr. KUNZIG. You understand, of course, every witness before the committee has the right to counsel. I assume, because you are appearing here without counsel, you do not desire to have a lawyer at your side.

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Edmiston, do you know the previous witness who just stepped down from the stand, Reverend McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. Where did you first meet him?

Mrs. EDMISTON. As we stated in our affidavit, our first meeting with Mr. McMichael was at the Southern Hotel in Columbus, Ohio, when we were acting as undercover operatives for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. KUNZIG. "We" being who?

Mrs. EDMISTON. My husband and I, John Edmiston.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

How do you recall or what brings to your mind particularly the Reverend McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Well, it was our business to remember faces and names at that time. Ours was a job of reporting facts back to the Bureau, and the instance which we have cited in our affidavit happened at the Southern Hotel, where we were drawn aside by a small group of people and instructed on how to detect an FBI stool pigeon and enemy of the people within the youth organization.

It was highly instructive to us. We learned a lot of things. We learned that undercover operatives were always the first to be on the picket lines or the first to promote the petitions that were being passed out. So, we learned to back up a little bit from the Communist Party.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, Mrs. Edmiston, this little discussion you are talking about—who was present at this discussion?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Stephen Grattan, E. S. Grattan, Communist Party secretary in Columbus; Jack Perloff, who has been mentioned here already, YCL organizer in Columbus—that is, Young Communist League; Joseph Socoloff, Communist Party organizer for Columbus—and this little group was with us, with Ed and—with John and myself, when we were joined by Mr. McMichael and Robert Thompson, who is—who was indicted in Judge Medina's court and is presently on the loose somewhere.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, did all these people obviously know each other and know each other well?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Apparently so; yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. The discussion was most cordial and friendly among a group of one mind, so to speak?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And, of course, you at that time were going under the front of being a Communist Party member?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Oh, yes; we were.

Mr. KUNZIG. So, all thought you were one of the group, so to speak?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; we were doing a pretty fair job of acting as Communist Party members, and our appearance was perhaps different. We were posing as Communist Party people at that time.

Mr. KUNZIG. Let me ask you this—and I ask you to think most well and seriously upon the answer, since there obviously has been a difference of opinion: Do you know absolutely that the Reverend McMichael who previously was in this witness stand a few minutes ago was in that group?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; I do. Otherwise we would not have signed our affidavit to that effect.

Mr. KUNZIG. You took an oath to that; is that right?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you are under oath this minute, as you are swearing before this committee?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Exactly.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, you also discussed the Emergency Peace Mobilization. Did you attend that meeting of the Emergency Peace Mobilization?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; I did. I was representing the Workers' Alliance of America, and it was during this time that an affidavit was issued for my arrest for false circulation of the Communist peace petition in Columbus. This was done in an attempt to get into Communist Party favor, you see.

At that meeting we had delegates from all over the country. There must have been——

Mr. KUNZIG. Was this August of 1940?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That was August, and over the Labor Day weekend.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

Mrs. EDMISTON. It tied in the Emergency Peace Mobilization. Preceding that was the Workers' Alliance convention, and I have here a copy of the Daily Worker for August the 31st, 1940, and it talks about the delegates from all American cities to pour into the Chicago peace parley, and it says here:

Youth will speak Saturday night through the vivid personality of Jack McMichael, chairman of the American Youth Congress.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, now, did you see Jack McMichael present at this peace mobilization?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; he was one of the speakers.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did you hear him speak?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; I did. We were present at all the sessions.

Mr. KUNZIG. Did he speak at the anticonscription rally?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Just what was that, Mrs. Edmiston, if you could tell the committee a bit about it?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Peace meeting—spurious peace organizations were set up at that time all over the country. They were organized in small neighborhood groups. Then they were pulled into neighborhood churches, and then into the larger churches in the various cities. All these people, then, were gathered together in one mass assembly called the Emergency Peace Mobilization, whose purpose was to stop conscription, keep America out of war, and keep our—our slogan at that time was “The YANKS were not coming”, if you will recall.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was the Reverend McMichael named any officer of this organization?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I believe he was named chairman of that organization.

That was a Communist-dominated and Communist-formed organization.

Mr. KUNZIG. I am referring, of course, to the Emergency Peace Mobilization. We were talking about the Emergency Peace Mobilization, and then I believe in your statement you said that a new organization, the American Peace Mobilization, was founded—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; that succeeded—

Mr. KUNZIG. And of this new organization Reverend McMichael was named vice chairman?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; vice chairman rather than chairman of the American Peace Mobilization.²⁸

Mr. KUNZIG. American Peace Mobilization. That is right.

Mrs. EDMISTON. I have here a copy of the program—Emergency Peace Mobilization—at which Mr. McMichael spoke—the anticonscription rally, 8 p. m., on Saturday, August 31st, and he's named here as chairman, American Youth Congress, also.

Mr. VELDE. May I ask a question at this point?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. VELDE. Will you tell the committee what information you have concerning the American People's Mobilization?

²⁸ American Peace Mobilization:

1. Cited as subversive and Communist (Attorney General Tom Clark, letters to Loyalty Review Board, released December 4, 1947, and September 21, 1948).

2. “Formed in the summer of 1940 under the auspices of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League as a ‘front’ organization designed to mold American opinion against participation in the war against Germany. * * * The most conspicuous activity of American Peace Mobilization was the picketing of the White House, which began in April 1941, in protest against lend-lease and the entire national defense program * * * on the afternoon of June 21, 1941, he (Frederick V. Field, national secretary) suddenly called off the picket line around the White House” (Attorney General Francis Biddle, Congressional Record, September 24, 1942, p. 7684).

3. Cited as “one of the most seditious organizations which ever operated in the United States” and “instrument of the Communist Party line prior to Hitler's attack on Russia” (Special Committee on Un-American Activities, report, March 29, 1944, p. 5; also cited in reports, June 25, 1942, p. 13; and January 2, 1943, pp. 8 and 9).

Mrs. EDMISTON. Oh, the American People's Mobilization was the final phase that it went into when the switchover came from peace to war.

I'm sorry.

Mr. VELDE. And when was that?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That was in 1941, just after Hitler invaded Russia.

Mr. VELDE. Well, was there any change that you were able to see in the membership of the American Peace Mobilization and the American People's Mobilization?

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; the same people showed up in both organizations, following consistently the party line, since it was Communist-dominated. They would naturally follow the party line.

Mr. VELDE. Proceed.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Edmiston, you also, in your deposition, stated that on July 4, 1941, you attended a national conference for the American Youth Congress in Philadelphia; is that correct?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. KUNZIG. And would you describe that meeting to the committee, briefly?

Mrs. EDMISTON. My part?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes; your part.

Mrs. EDMISTON. I was representing the Workers' Alliance, and I was sent by—actually, by the Communist Party, representing the Workers' Alliance. With me were Joanne Moore, with the Young Communist League in Cincinnati—the people who went in my car—the four people from Cincinnati were all Communist Party members. At that meeting we talked—you talked about the questions that were directed to Mr. McMichael a while ago—on the panel, upon which we both sat, the aid to China panel, and—

Mr. KUNZIG. Both—you mean yourself and the Reverend McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. I see.

Mrs. EDMISTON. It was a sizable panel, as a matter of fact.

Mr. KUNZIG. And you know, as a definite matter of fact, he sat on that panel—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Together with you?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, and I recall his speech at that time. I have a quote which I found quite amusing, as it indicated the complete switch-over of the Communist Party line. He said at that time:

We'll take up arms in defense of Russia, who is now our ally, and lay down our lives if need be.

Mr. KUNZIG. This was July 4, 1941?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. Therefore, only a few weeks, as I recall—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. After the invasion by Germany of Russia?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Which was, I believe, on June 22, 1941.

Mr. KUNZIG. And there was this definite switch in the McMichael viewpoint, as you, yourself, saw it—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG. And heard it?

Did you see the Reverend McMichael again, recently, in 1950?

Mrs. EDMISTON. We did. After we testified before this committee in 1950, on the 13th, 14th and 15th of July that year, the following Monday we understood there was to be a meeting of the Methodist Federation for Social Action down at Wilberforce, which is Ohio's little Negro college, in southern—southwestern Ohio.

Mr. KUNZIG. Now, this, of course, was long after you had been expelled—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. KUNZIG (continuing). From the Communist Party when they caught you as FBI agents?

Mrs. EDMISTON. We were expelled in 1941, having been detected in our business of reporting on Communist Party activities to the FBI.

Incidentally, we gave daily reports to the Bureau.

Mr. VELDE. At this point, since we have had another call of the House, the committee will be in recess for 30 minutes.

(Whereupon, at 3:11 p. m., the hearing was recessed, to reconvene at 3:43 p. m.)

(The hearing reconvened at 4 p. m., the following committee members being present: Representatives Harold H. Velde (chairman), Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will please be in order.

Let the record show at this point present are Mr. Clardy, Mr. Scherer, Mr. Moulder, Mr. Doyle and the chairman, a quorum of the full committee.

I would like to state for the record at this point that members of this committee have quite a number of other duties to attend to, and I have just been advised by counsel for Mr. McMichael that he cannot be here tomorrow, and we expect to adjourn by 5 o'clock this evening. So, I have asked counsel to finish with Mr. and Mrs. Edmiston as soon as possible, and if we are not able to complete the testimony of Mr. McMichael he will be continued under subpoena until later on in the year.

With that, will you proceed, Mr. Counsel?

Mr. KUNZIG. Mrs. Edmiston, when we adjourned a few moments ago to answer the call of the floor of the Congress you were discussing a July 18, 1950, meeting that you had with the Reverend Jack McMichael. He was, at that time, as I understand, executive secretary of the Methodist Federation for Social Action.

Now, would you describe that occasion, please, to the committee?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes. The conference was held at Wilberforce University, a small Negro university, which had no part in the federation. They simply provided a place for them to meet.

Now, Mr. McMichael was one of the principal speakers, and we went to the meeting to more or less refresh ourselves on what the party line might be. We thought there we might find it.

He, Mr. McMichael, voiced what seemed to be the party line, or was, from all of the things we were acquainted with at that time. He blamed America as being the aggressor in this imperialist war.

Mr. KUNZIG. What war was this?

Mrs. EDMISTON. The war in Korea, which had just begun. He had no blame for Soviet Russia, and advocated withdrawal of troops from Korea.

At that time we picked up—there was distributed Communist literature, and also this program of study and action of the MFSA. The committee probably has a copy of it, and they called for such things as abolishing the House Committee on Un-American Activities as it is an un-American procedure for setting up—or to seek, rather, to expand the people's power, democratic rule; raise the standard of living by mass purchasing power; for the cooperative ownership of farm machinery, and all of those things, which seemed to me to have no particular place in a church convention.

Mr. KUNZIG. Well, now—

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Is it possible to have that marked as an exhibit, or do you have a copy of it?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I turned over my other copy—although, I might point out, we are not working for the FBI, yet I turned over my copies. You may have this one.

Mr. VELDE. Will the clerk mark that as an exhibit, and will the counsel offer it for—

Mr. KUNZIG. I have this exhibit marked Mrs. Edmiston exhibit No. 1 for identification, and I offer it in evidence, Mr. Chairman, as Mrs. Edmiston exhibit No. 1.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it will be admitted at this point.

(T. MSFA program of study and action was marked and received in evidence as "Mrs. Edmiston Exhibit No. 1.")

MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 1

(MFSA Program of Study and Action)

(As Revised Dec. 30, 1949)

OBJECTS AND GOVERNING PRINCIPLES

(1) The object of the Federation shall be to deepen within the Church the sense of social obligation and opportunity to study, from the Christian point of view, social problems and their solution; and to promote social action in the spirit of Jesus.

(2) The Methodist Federation for Social Action seeks to bear witness in worship, education, and action to the social conscience of Christianity. It seeks to make explicit for our day what is implicit in the prophetic tradition of the Old Testament, the teachings of Jesus, and evangelical Christianity.

(3) The Methodist Federation for Social Action affirms the radical character of the Kingdom of God with its principles of love, righteousness, social justice, and an inclusive fellowship of all men, without artificial barriers of race, creed, or class, each member of which is a person of infinite value. In seeking the establishment of full democracy and unreserved brotherhood in our political, economic, and social life, we work for a social order based on respect for personality, and service without special class or group discriminations and privileges. The Federation rejects the method of the struggle for profit as the economic basis for society and rejects all forms of totalitarianism, replacing them by the method of democratic social economic planning. It subscribes to no "ism" but to Christianity.

(4) In seeking to realize these objects and principles, we work to make peace secure and to bring the impact of prophetic religion to bear upon our society and all its institutions—economic, political, social, and ecclesiastical. Through a concrete immediate program, the Methodist Federation for Social Action works to attain ultimately a society in which the people themselves cooperatively and democratically plan and provide the production and distribution of goods and services with the motive and to the end, not of profits for the few, but of service for all; and in which frustrating and unbrotherly barriers of inequality, whether

grounded on class distinction or on race or national or sex discrimination, have been ended, supplanted by brotherhood, full and unreserved, and by equal opportunity for maximum personal development.

Our Program seeks:

I. TO EXTEND, COOPERATE WITH:

1. THE DEMOCRATIC TRADE UNION MOVEMENT WHICH IS:

An indispensable tool through which the workers, themselves, through collective bargaining, can have a direct voice in expanding people's purchasing power. Essential to extension of industrial democracy as a necessary bulwark of political democracy.

- (1) Return to the principles of the Wagner National Labor Act.
- (2) Repeal Taft-Hartley and similar repressive antilabor legislation.
- (3) Thwart persisting state and federal legislative attacks on labor.
- (4) Strengthen the Department of Labor and all federal and state conciliation services.

(5) Extend Church-labor cooperation:

a. Espouse fair labor standards and bona fide collective bargaining in the Nashville Plant and other institutions of the Church.

b. Support a training program among churchmen in the field of religion and labor through:

- (a) Setting up more Students-in-Industry groups;
- (b) Helping in the formation of local Religion-Labor Fellowships for the development of understanding;
- (c) Recruiting, training and dedicating young people for participation in union;
- (d) Special courses in colleges and theological seminaries;
- (e) Inviting labor leaders to address annual conferences;
- (f) Setting up trips for young people and adults in the church for studies in industry, and conferences with labor leaders;
- (g) Taking student and minister groups to observe labor conventions;
- (h) Recommending that all church agencies follow the practice of the MFSA by using the Union label.

c. Support the Church in assigning specialized labor ministers.

d. Cooperate with progressive employers in promoting these ends.

e. Urge the Church to make full use of her ministry of reconciliation in industrial conflicts.

3. THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT, BOTH RURAL AND URBAN AS:

A democratic vehicle for increasing real income and thus purchasing power and employment;

Another force for democracy.

4. Expose and frustrate legislative attacks on the power and growth of co-operatives.

5. Continue education about, and on behalf of, cooperatives.

6. Seek extension of participation by churchmen and churches in the Co-operative Movement.

II. TO ESTABLISH AND EXTEND FULL ETHNIC DEMOCRACY

1. Repudiate, in word and deed, the myth of racial and national superiority and practices in racial and national discrimination and segregation;

2. Seek complete realization of democratic promise of equal opportunity.

(1) Support strong, permanent federal Fair Employment Practices Committee, and parallel state FEPC's, aimed at the elimination of all racial and religious discrimination in industry.

(2) Seek abolition of all discrimination and segregation in restrictive housing covenants, divine worship, transportation, education, hospitalization, hotel and eating and recreational facilities, armed forces.

(3) End all discrimination and segregation in our nation's capital.

(4) Help establish or develop inclusive, interracial churches.

(5) Secure non-discriminatory employment by all church institutions.

(6) Develop interracial MFSA chapters.

(7) Expose, eradicate anti-Semitism.

(8) Abolish Oriental exclusion laws.

(9) Support and implement the Methodist General Conference resolution on race.

III. TO EXTEND AND UNIVERSALIZE DEMOCRATIC SUFFRAGE

1. Abolish the poll tax, white primary, etc.
2. Lower the voting age to 18.
3. Fully enfranchise the American Indians, and citizens of the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Alaska, etc.
4. Help get out the vote in all local, state, and federal elections; and help find social conscious candidates.

IV. TO ESTABLISH, PRESERVE, AND UNDERGIRD CIVIL LIBERTIES AND MINORITY RIGHTS

1. Stand guard for the liberties, rights, and equal opportunity of all those groups (e. g., seek adequate financial support within Methodism for Methodist conscientious objectors), oppose proposals to outlaw the minority political parties, contribute to the legal defense of communists or others brought to trial simply for their political views.
2. Work for immediate amnesty (and release) for all conscientious objectors, both in and out of prison.
3. Support academic freedom.
4. Support freedom of the church press and of the pulpit.
5. Support federal anti-lynching legislation and the Civil Rights legislative program as a whole. Change Senate rules to end filibuster.
6. Abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities, as itself an un-American procedure.
7. Strengthen the Civil Rights work of the Federal Government through: a stronger Civil Rights section in the Department of Justice, a permanent President's Committee on Civil Rights, and a joint Congressional Civil Rights Committee.
8. End the blacklisting of legal and peaceful organizations by the Attorney General under Presidential directive.
9. Repeal the Smith Act as an abridgment of free speech and assembly.
10. Study, support and implement the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights.

V. TO CONTEST ALL POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MILITARY IMPERIALISM

1. Seek to expand peoples' power (democratic rule) and raise the standard of living (mass purchasing power) throughout the world, remembering that a strong democratic trade union movement is one of our chief allies.
2. Promote political and economic independence for all colonial peoples.
3. Support UN administration and trusteeship over still dependent territories. Develop civilian control of U. S. Pacific dependencies, with promotion of the peoples' social and educational advance.
4. Oppose American economic imperialism as basic to the struggle against British, French, Dutch colonialism.
5. Urge self-determination for Puerto Rico; statehood for Alaska, Hawaii.

VI. TO SEEK FULL, SOCIALLY USEFUL EMPLOYMENT IN THE DAYS, AND FOR THE NEEDS OF PEACE

(The widespread lack of which, in the past brought a breakdown of democracy to Germany and other lands—and the lack of which in the future could bring a similar breakdown again to the same and new nations, including the U. S. A.) Full, useful, employment, within the framework of American democracy constitutes, therefore, a basic and immediate goal of MFSA.

1. Encourage international economic cooperation (vs. imperialist competition) to promote economic expansion, higher living standards, more world trade:
 - (1) A world-wide reconstruction plan operated by and through the UN to fight starvation and devastation everywhere non-politically.
 - (2) Reciprocal trade extension, etc.
2. Support and promote overall social-economic planning to meet crying human needs, implemented by:
 - (1) Nationally integrated systems of socially owned and operated TVA's, MVA's, CVA's, and a St. Lawrence waterway.
 - (2) Vast public and private housing.
 - (3) Full peacetime use of the plant and equipment built for war, under social control and for the social good.

(4) Increased unemployment compensation and expansion of Social Security benefits and extension of coverage to workers in ecclesiastical and other non-profit institutions, domestics, farmers, etc.

(5) Expansion of educational facilities and opportunities without discrimination, including e. g. support of Federal Aid to Public (not private) Education.

(6) Expansion of recreational and health facilities, to include adequate medical care for all.

(7) Constructive public works giving employment to those unable to find private jobs.

(8) Extension and support of Farm Security Administration, Rural Electrification, and other programs to lift living standards.

(9) Return to price controls under a democratic form of organization, and with participation by the local community, to keep living costs down.

(10) Acceptance and application of the principle of an annual living wage and increased minimum wage.

(11) A strong "Full Employment" bill.

3. Support a progressive program to meet rural needs, including

(1) A thorough study of cooperative ownership of farm machinery.

(2) Guaranteed floor under farm prices of a fixed percentage of parity.

(3) Continued low-interest government loans to family farmers.

(4) Expansion of rural electrification, telephone, roadbuilding; health, welfare, and cultural programs.

(5) Demands for legislation to curb the alarming expansion of large scale and corporation-farm systems and protect the family-type farmer who represents a substantial percentage of Americans.

(6) Urge our Government to give full support to the original program of the International Food and Agriculture Organization.

(7) Extend more federal employment services to farm labor groups.

(8) Enlarge and expand the program of federal aid to migrant labor, including more adequate housing.

(9) Expansion and extension of soil conservation with direct payments to farmers for soil conservation practices.

(10) An ever-normal granary program on a much expanded basis, with emphasis on federal aid and loans to REA-type of cooperatively owned storage facilities.

(11) Federal crop insurance.

4. Continue and extend labor-management committees and the cooperation developed during the war to end of a cooperative endeavor to secure maximum employment.

5. Remove discrimination against economically disadvantaged areas (especially the South) to promote industrial and economic expansion.

6. Support a progressive tax program to stimulate sound economic expansion and increase purchasing power at the bottom.

(1) Abolition of sales taxes.

(2) Levying of stiff inheritance taxes, steeply graduated income taxes.

(3) Opposition to any "across the board" reduction in income taxes.

7. Accept nationally the proposition that labor-saving machinery and all technological advancement shall serve the community as a whole, not merely the privileged few who own and control the machines (which points to the ultimate ownership and control of the basic means of production by the people as a whole).

VII. TO COMBAT THE EVILS OF MONOPOLY CAPITALISM BY SEEKING NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL CURBS ON MONOPOLIES AND CARTELS

Accepting the ultimate goal of public ownership and control of the primary sources of power, we urge:

1. Public or social civilian ownership and control of atomic power.

2. United Nations control to insure the constructive (vs. destructive) production and use of atomic power.

VIII. TO PROMOTE AN AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AIMED AT LASTING PEACE AND PROGRESSIVE CHANGE IN THE WORLD THROUGH THE EXTENSION OF PEOPLES' POWER

1. Support and implement the Methodist General Conference position on War and Peace. Cooperate to that end with the Commission on World Peace, the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, the Woman's Division of Christian Service, and others.

2. Support and implement the United Nations Charter, and seek wholehearted participation in all of its important agencies.

3. Cease manufacture and stockpiling of atom bombs and destroy existing stockpiles.

4. Outlaw the atom bomb and other weapons of mass destruction (e. g., for biological warfare), through U. N.

5. Oppose peacetime military conscription in the U. S. A. and seek its abolition throughout the world as part of a bold, worldwide disarmament program. Repeal the Selective Service Act of 1948.

6. Substantially reduce national military budget.

7. Oppose further militarization of the "Marshall Plan" as in military alliance with Marshall Plan countries.

8. Engage in friendly cooperation with the Soviet Union. End the Cold War. Solve problems through negotiations.

9. Engage in friendly cooperation with the new regimes of Europe (both East and West) and Asia. Secure prompt recognition of the developing new people's government in China and large-scale cooperation and aid.

10. End existing economic, political, and military support of colonial regimes, of fascist regimes in Spain and Argentina and of reactionary and protofascist forces in Greece, China, etc.

11. Return to a progressive, democratic, reform program in Japan.

12. Promote a peaceful, unified, democratic Germany, free to develop its own peaceful, economic system. Internationalize the Rhur for the benefit of all Europe's people.

13. End Diplomatic representation with the Vatican in any guise, in keeping with the principle of separation of Church and State and with the need for a progressive peace policy.

14. Curb the power and influence of international cartels through the kind of intergovernment cooperation in peace which the war proved possible.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have that other thing you have over there?

Mrs. EDMISTON. This?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

Mrs. EDMISTON. This is the only copy I have. Might I have a photostat of that?

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes.

I should like to offer also in evidence a document which was testified to earlier, Mr. Chairman—the official program of the Emergency Peace Mobilization. I offer this in evidence as Mrs. Edmiston exhibit No. 2 and ask permission of the committee, sir, if it is received in evidence, to have it photostated and return the original to the witness.

Mr. VELDE. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(The official program of the Emergency Peace Mobilization was marked and received in evidence as "Mrs. Edmiston Exhibit No. 2.")

MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 1)



MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 2)

Let My People Go!

The cry of the South . . . the inspiring story of the spiritual leader of the sharecroppers, Rev. Claude Williams . . . from the pen of the great British writer, Cedric Belfrage : . . published in London by Victor Gollancz and released by the Left Book Club NOT FOR SALE TO THE PUBLIC.

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MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 3)

*Information for Delegates and Visitors***ALL SESSIONS START ON TIME**

Because there is so little time to transact so much important business all EPM sessions will start precisely AT THE HOUR INDICATED. Please cooperate with all other delegates by being punctual always.

INFORMATION BOOTH

All inquiries concerning mail, lost and found, etc., will be handled at the special booths located in the lobby of Gate 2. Ushers and all EPM staff members are NOT EQUIPPED to answer inquiries. Lost and Found articles will be held for owners until 6 P.M. September 2nd.

TELEPHONES

Numerous coin box (nickel) telephones are located on all stadium floors.

MEALS

Special budget luncheons and dinners have been arranged for delegates and visitors in the Stadium Grill (East of Gate 2). Show your blue or yellow card to get the reduced price meals. For those who do not demand table service, arrangements have been made to sell sandwiches, soft drinks and other refreshments through counter and aisle service at popular prices within the Stadium.

AT THE GATES

Your admission card will be punched as you enter each session. Should you leave the stadium during a session, cards once punched will NOT BE GOOD for re-admission.

BOOKSTORE

A popular selection of free and low-priced literature, non-fiction and social action pamphlets is available at special book-stalls along the corridors behind the orchestra seats. Your chance to stock up on what's new.

TRANSPORTATION INFORMATION

Uniformed attendants (not ushers) will be stationed outside the gates to help you find the quickest and cheapest transit to various points in Chicago. Refer all local transportation inquiries to them only, please.

PETITIONS AND BUTTONS

All outstanding funds and collections on EPM buttons and petitions must be deposited with the Collector stationed in the special booth on the orchestra floor near the Wolcott Street corridor.

SERVICES

The staff and captains and workrooms of EPM are *not permitted* to provide typewriting or mimeographing facilities for any groups or delegations.

SPECIAL PANELS

Special interest groups not included in the official program must make their own arrangements for meeting places. These meetings should be scheduled for Monday afternoon. Wherever possible, public announcement of these meetings will be made.

MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 4)

*Schedule of Events - Eme***SATURDAY, AUGUST 31st****9:00 A. M.—Meeting of Sponsors—Stevens Hotel****12:00 Noon—OPENING SESSION CONVENES**

Miss Pearl Hart, Chairman

Harvey O'Connor, Co-Chairman

Invocation—Rev. George W. Williams, Chicago, St. Stephen
A.M.E. Church, Chicago.*Selections*—Agatha Lewis*Keynote*—Rev. John B. Thompson, Temporary Chairman, E.P.M.
Chairman, Southern Conference for Human Welfare*Business of the Meeting*—Setting up Committees

Adoption of Procedure

Adoption of Agenda

1:45 P. M.—Recess**2:00 P. M.—SESSION RECONVENES***Report*—DEFENDING DEMOCRACY AT HOME—Rev. Owen A.
Knox, Chairman, National Federation for Constitutional
Liberties.*Speakers*—Joseph Curran, President, National Maritime UnionCharles W. Fine, State Senator, Minnewaukon, N. D., Chair-
man, Executive Board, North Dakota Farmers' Union.*Discussion from Floor*—Series of 5 minute speeches**5:00 P. M.—SESSION ADJOURNS****5:00 P. M.—COMMITTEE MEETINGS**

Resolutions Committee—Room 5

Continuations Committee—Room 10

Credentials Committee—Room 4

Auditing Committee—Room 8

8:00 P. M.—ANTI-CONSCRIPTION RALLY

Dr. John B. Thompson, General Chairman

Invocation—Dr. Ernest L. Waldorf, Resident Bishop, Chicago Area,
Methodist Church*Speakers*—Reid Robinson, President, International Union of Mine,
Mill and Smelter Workers

Oscar Ameringer, Editor, The American Guardian

Jack McMichael, Chairman, American Youth Congress

John P. Davis, Executive Secretary, National Negro
Congress*Selections*—Paul Robeson and Mixed Chorus present "BALLAD
FOR AMERICANS"

James A. Mundy Singers

Chicago Repertory Chorus

The Song Baggers

Speakers—Dr. Francis E. Townsend, President, Townsend National
Recovery Plan.

Representative Vito Marcantonio, New York

MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 5)

Agency Peace Mobilization

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st

9:30 A.M.—BUSINESS SESSION CONVENES

Invocation—Rev. William C. Anderson

Report—HOW TO KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR—Katherine Terrill, Executive Secretary, Council for Social Action of the Congregationalist and Christian Church

Speakers—Frederick V. Field.
Dr. Max Yergan

Community Sing

Discussion from the Floor—Five minute speeches

12:30 A.M.—SESSION ADJOURNS

12:35 P.M.—COMMITTEE MEETINGS

1:30 P.M.—BUSINESS SESSION CONVENES

Michael J. Quill, President, Transport Workers Union
Report of Credentials Committee
Report of Resolutions Committee
Discussion and Action
Recess

4:00 P.M.—Presentation by the Chicago Repertory Group

4:30 P.M.—BUSINESS SESSION RECONVENES

Discussion and Action on Resolutions
Report on Continuation and Organization
Discussion and Action

6:30 P.M.—SESSION ADJOURNS

6:35 P.M.—COMMITTEE MEETINGS

8:00 P.M.—Meetings of State Delegations

(SEE PAGE 6 of this program for LOCATION OF THESE MEETINGS)

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2nd

9:00 - 11:00 A.M.—PANEL MEETINGS

Labor—Mezzanine Sections R, S and T
Farm—Mezzanine Sections K, L, M, and N
Religious—Mezzanine Section E, F, and G
Cultural—Mezzanine Sections W, X, A and B

11:30 A.M.—CLOSING SESSION

State Reports
Panel Reports
Election of Officers

12:50 P.M.—CALL TO ACTION

1:30 P.M.—CONVENTION ADJOURNS

MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 6)

State Delegation Meetings

These meetings have been arranged to enable delegates from various states to assemble as a body and develop programs based upon the policy adopted at EPM. All delegates should study the locations of their meetings carefully. For economy's sake many meetings have been scheduled in various parts of the Stadium. All state groups should maintain complete quiet when assembling and dispersing so that other state groups meeting will not be inconvenienced by noise.

TIME OF ALL STATE MEETINGS: 8:00 P. M. SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1st

Name of State	Location of Meeting
MINNESOTA	ORCHESTRA—Wood Street (East) Side
THE SOUTH (Virginia, West Virginia, No. Carolina, So. Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Texas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Tennessee, Oklahoma, Arkansas)	ORCHESTRA—Wolcott Street (West) Side
CALIFORNIA	MEZZANINE—Section F
PENNSYLVANIA	MEZZANINE—Section S
WISCONSIN	MEZZANINE—Section X and A
INDIANA	MEZZANINE—Section L and M
NEW JERSEY	1st BALCONY—Section C
MARYLAND, DELAWARE and WASHINGTON, D. C.	1st BALCONY—Section G
NORTHWEST, (Washington, Oregon, Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming)	2nd BALCONY—Section B
MIDWEST (No. Dakota, Iowa, So. Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas and Missouri)	2nd BALCONY—Section L
SOUTHWEST (Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, Arizona and Nevada)	2nd BALCONY—Section R
OHIO	To be announced
ILLINOIS	To be announced
MICHIGAN	To be announced
NEW YORK	To be announced
NEW ENGLAND (Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Vermont and Massachusetts)	1st BALCONY—Section

MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 7)

Acknowledgments

Win Stracke—Community Sing Leader

Song Baggers—Community Sing Chorus

Stage Display—United American Artists

Cover Design—Hugh Leckie

Accompanists—Sonny Vale and Abe Liefer

Mason and Hamlin Pianos from Cable Piano Company

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\$2.44
per month

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MRS. EDMISTON EXHIBIT NO. 2

(Part 8)

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Mrs. EDMISTON. Sir, may I point out—

Mr. VELDE. I am sorry, Mrs. Edmiston; there is no question pending.

Mrs. EDMISTON. Oh.

Mr. VELDE. Not because we don't want to hear what you have to say—

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. But because of the regular rules—

Mr. SCHERER. May I ask a question?

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. What were you going to say, Mrs. Edmiston?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I was going to point out in our affidavit and in any testimony which we could offer this committee we will not say—because it is not a fact, we will not say that we sat with Mr. McMichael in any closed Communist meeting where party action was taken, nor were we put on assignment with him by a party superior as a Communist Party member, nor was he identified to us as a Communist Party member.

I am putting that down—I would like that on the record—as facts.

When we came before this committee in 1950, they were scrupulous, as they always are, and very fair to see that we didn't mention Communist Party fellow travelers. We were only permitted to name Communist Party names. So, I believe Mr. McMichael's name does not appear in that testimony; but our question then—and it has been to the groups of people we have talked to since—is: Who is doing the most damage, the Communist Party member who rolls the poison pill or the person who, under the guise of religion, shoves it down our throats?

I'm sorry—it's a bit of editorializing there.

Mr. VELDE. Well, let me say this: That the previous witness has done much more than editorialize, and we certainly welcome your comments.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have one personal, final question, Mrs. Edmiston: This affidavit which you signed, together with your husband, the 31st day of January 1953, in front of Mary C. Young, notary public, Hamilton County, Ohio—you are today, of course, here under oath before the committee—is everything you put in that affidavit true and correct, to the best of your knowledge and belief?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; indeed it is.

Mr. KUNZIG. Do you have any further questions, sir?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. Just a few.

Witness, so that we may thoroughly and correctly understand the full import of your testimony, I wonder if this would be a fair summary: that you are trying to tell the committee that you have sat on a panel—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY (continuing). With him; that you have attended meetings that were Communist-sponsored, such as the one in Columbus, Ohio—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. CLARDY. And others; and that while you do not have any evidence, documentary or otherwise, to make him a card-carrying Communist Party member, you have attended meetings that were started and carried on, pushed as part of the Communist Party line?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right, sir, and his associates were Communist Party members.

We intend to show the closeness, and also the changeover with every phase of the Communist Party line, from peace to war and back to peace again, as it suits the Soviet.

Mr. CLARDY. What you are saying, then, is Mr. McMichael and those he associated with followed the twists and turns of the Communist Party propaganda line?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Exactly. Their slogans change from time to time, but the aim is the same—the overthrow of the Government by force and violence.

Mr. CLARDY. And there was comparable to that a change of name to take away the word “peace” and substitute the word “people’s”——

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. CLARDY. At one time to disguise or at least conceal the fact there had been a shift in the party line?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. CLARDY. And is it your further purpose here to make it perfectly clear on the record that you have knowledge, which came to you through your associations, to support the things you are telling us in the affidavit?

Mr. EDMISTON. Yes, sir. We have no reason to give to the committee other than facts.

Mr. CLARDY. Now, at the time this knowledge was acquired by you, you were not a member of the Communist Party in the commonly accepted meaning of that word?

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; we were posing as Communist Party members in order to gather information for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. CLARDY. So that you were working for your Government against the Communist conspiracy——

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CLARDY. At that time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. We felt that since we had a chance to observe its activities we should offer ourselves to the Bureau.

Mr. CLARDY. This was something voluntary on your part?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; entirely.

Mr. CLARDY. And, as such, you did your best to conceal the fact that you were a member of the FBI?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; and fortunately we were not perhaps detected by the Communist Party security branch. They have, of course, their own security.

Mr. CLARDY. How long were you acting in that capacity?

Mrs. EDMISTON. For—from the period of about January 1940, to December—late December—shortly after Pearl Harbor Day. Let’s see—that would be about 2 weeks after Pearl Harbor day when we were expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. CLARDY. Roughly 2 years?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. And were you expelled because you were discovered to be——

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. An FBI agent?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Unfortunately, because we had hoped to stay in much longer.

Mr. CLARDY. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. One question: I want to go back to the meeting on the mezzanine floor of the Southern Hotel during the convention. Those present—let's see if we have it right—were E. S. Grattan?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. SCHERER. I understand he was the Communist Party secretary?

Mrs. EDMISTON. He was the secretary in Columbus at that time.

Mr. SCHERER. Of the Communist Party?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. SCHERER. He was a Communist, and you know about it?

Mrs. EDMISTON. He was an open Communist.

Mr. SCHERER. He was an open Communist.

Then there was Jack Perloff. He was a Communist?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. In fact—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Organizer for the Young Communist League.

Mr. SCHERER. He was the organizer.

Then there was Joseph Socoloff?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Joseph Socoloff, alias Joseph Socol.

Mr. SCHERER. And he was the Communist Party organizer?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; for the Communist Party proper.

Mr. SCHERER. Then also present in that conversation was Robert Thompson?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Robert Thompson.

Mr. SCHERER. And he, of course, later became the secretary of the Communist Party in New York?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And he is the man you have said has been convicted in Judge Medina's court and has since jumped his bail?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And then you and your husband were there?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And as far as the outside world knew at that time you were Communists?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. SCHERER. And, then, the other person—the only other person who was there—was the Reverend Jack McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And the subject of that conference was—and, as you say in your affidavit, it was Thompson and Rev. Jack McMichael who launched into a discussion of—alleged attempts by FBI agents to infiltrate the American Youth Congress?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. This led to a further remark by the two AYC officials on how to spot an FBI agent in Communist Party meetings?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. SCHERER. Is that the subject of the conversation?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; it was.

Mr. SCHERER. I think that testimony speaks for itself, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Pursuing the same course that is in your examination by counsel, I want to go back into your background.

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Where were you born?

Mrs. EDMISTON. At East Ringgold, Ohio.

Mr. MOULDER. Where?

Mrs. EDMISTON. East Ringgold, Ohio.

Mr. MOULDER. And what was your work or occupation prior to your working for the FBI as an undercover agent?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Columnist.

Mr. MOULDER. What?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Columnist on history. Columnist for Ohio newspapers.

Mr. MOULDER. Have you always been a resident of Ohio?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes; except for a brief time when we were living in Michigan.

Mr. MOULDER. Where did you attend school?

Mr. CLARDY. Living where?

Mrs. EDMISTON. We were living in Michigan.

Mr. MOULDER. How far did you live from Columbus, Ohio, or let's say, where did you reside on June the 22d and 23d?

Mrs. EDMISTON. June the 22d and 23d of what year, sir?

Mr. MOULDER. Of 1940.

Mrs. EDMISTON. We were living in Columbus.

Mr. MOULDER. That was your home at that time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Now, going along the questions asked you by Mr. Scherer concerning this meeting on the mezzanine floor, was it at a table or just a gathering in a circle?

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; we were just standing about there.

Mr. MOULDER. Just standing—

Mrs. EDMISTON. During a break in the conference.

Mr. MOULDER. Was it a meeting that had been called—

Mrs. EDMISTON. No.

Mr. MOULDER. Or previously arranged, or did it just happen?

Mrs. EDMISTON. It happened.

Mr. MOULDER. Were they standing there when you arrived or were you one of the first?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Our little Columbus group was standing there, talking about our peace leagues that we were going to set up, when Robert Thompson and Mr. McMichael joined us.

Mr. MOULDER. Just on the open mezzanine floor?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. How long—

Mrs. EDMISTON. It was during the break in the conference.

Mr. MOULDER. How long did this meeting last?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Oh, probably 10 or 15 minutes.

Mr. MOULDER. Was that the first time you had ever met the Reverend McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes. We had heard of him from Communist Party members as being a good person, who could be trusted on the peace groups.

Mr. MOULDER. Were you introduced to him there at that time by anyone? And who introduced you?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes. I can't recall whether it was Grattan or Thompson. However, it was a Communist, because that's all we had in the group.

Mr. MOULDER. You were introduced—you remember that—to him on that occasion for the first time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes. The other people—there were no other introductions performed—they all seemed to know each other.

Mr. MOULDER. And this Robert (Bobbie) Thompson was there?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did he talk with Reverend McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. They joined us together.

Mr. MOULDER. Oh, they were together when they joined the group?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. They were together before, when you saw them?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right. They joined our little group.

Mr. MOULDER. Now, going to this Wilberforce University meeting—in what building was that meeting held?

Mrs. EDMISTON. The one in 1950?

Mr. MOULDER. Yes. If you can remember.

Mrs. EDMISTON. I can't recall the name of it. I know where the building is, but it has an assembly hall in it, where they hold chapel, and so on.

Mr. MOULDER. There was an auditorium?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Can you tell us where you sat in that meeting, approximately? Do you remember where your seat was, or what row, approximately where you were?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I was probably back about 10 rows, sitting with Lou Rock, who was a reporter for the Dayton Journal-Herald. He was covering the meeting for the Journal-Herald.

Mr. MOULDER. Was your husband with you then?

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; my sister was with me. Ed was sitting over on the opposite side, on the other aisle.

Mr. MOULDER. He was there at the meeting?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes. He had stopped to take a look at the literature which was being passed out on the outside.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you recall any conversation you had with the Reverend McMichael at that time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I had none at that time.

Mr. MOULDER. Oh.

Mrs. EDMISTON. My sister and I, however, joined the group—there was a photograph taken of the whole group. We were told, "Come on out and get your pictures taken." I believe in that I am standing behind Mr. McMichael.

Mr. MOULDER. Do you have that picture?

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; I'm sorry, I don't.

Mr. MOULDER. Who took the picture; do you know?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I don't recall. Someone from the conference.

Mr. MOULDER. Someone from where?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Someone who was attending the conference, who had a camera.

Mr. MOULDER. It wasn't a newspaper—

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; it wasn't for the newspaper. It was a record shot, I suppose.

Mr. MOULDER. Then, it was on those 3 or 4 occasions that you met and knew Reverend McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. Did he know you well enough to call you by name?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Probably.

Mr. MOULDER. And did he address you by name?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Probably by first name.

Mr. MOULDER. By your first name?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That is, if he had occasion to. As I say, we were—when we were working with the Communist Party, our appearance was different.

Mr. MOULDER. Sure.

Mr. CLARDY. I didn't hear the end of that sentence.

Mrs. EDMISTON. Our appearance was different when we were working with the Communist Party, since we were trying to play a part.

Mr. MOULDER. At the Chicago Stadium meeting at the Emergency Peace Mobilization did you meet and talk with the Reverend McMichael at that time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. No; we heard him from the audience, as I recall.

Mr. MOULDER. You just saw him there at that time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I did. Whether Ed had a chance to talk to him at that time, I don't remember.

Mr. MOULDER. You had no personal conversation or discussion with him, but you just saw him?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. MOULDER. You saw him only while he was speaking?

Mrs. EDMISTON. And heard him speak; yes.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I think before the recess I heard you say concerning a panel on which you were a member with the witness—I wrote down your exact words—"It was a sizable panel." Now, how many members, therefore, were on that panel?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I suppose 10 or 12. There must have been at that meeting—I should say 1,000 to 1,500 young people.

Mr. DOYLE. And how long did the panel last?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That I don't remember, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. About how long did the panel last?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I think perhaps an hour.

Mr. DOYLE. Did I understand you a minute ago to say you had been told about Reverend McMichael as a person who would be interested in peace?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. And that is all you had ever heard about him?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I said, I believe, that he could be trusted to carry on the work of the peace groups.

Mr. DOYLE. And that is what you heard about him?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, prior to the Southern Hotel meeting.

Mr. SCHERER. When you said "groups"—what do you mean by "groups"?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Well, the peace organization—in the peace organizations we were setting them up—little ones which were pointed toward this Emergency Peace Mobilization in Chicago.

Mr. SCHERER. The Communists were setting them up?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. May I finish my questions, please?

That is all you had ever heard about him, is it?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, because—

Mr. DOYLE. Well, that is all right. That is just what I want to know.

Now, let's see—you were a paid FBI agent at that time?

Mrs. EDMISTON. We were operatives, not agents, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I beg your pardon. You were under salary from the F. B. I.—

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. To run down, discover, and report known Communists?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. I think you said a few minutes ago that you had never been able to identify Mr. McMichael?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That's right.

Mr. DOYLE. What did you do to try to identify Reverend McMichael as a Communist—

Mrs. EDMISTON. As a Communist?

Mr. DOYLE. If anything?

Mrs. EDMISTON. As an undercover operative, you're careful about asking outright questions, particularly at that time because the party was underground, as it is now.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, you tried to identify him as a Communist, did you?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Our paths didn't cross that often.

Mr. DOYLE. Well, did you make any effort to identify Reverend McMichael as a Communist?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Certainly. We would lead him into conversations, but we couldn't ask overt questions—is Reverend McMichael a Communist?

Mr. DOYLE. Well, then, your answer is you made an effort, but failed?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Right.

Mr. DOYLE. That is all I have.

Mr. MOULDER. One question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. I wanted to ask the approximate time of day when this meeting was held on the mezzanine floor of the Southern Hotel. Can you give us that? That is, was it during the morning or the afternoon?

Mrs. EDMISTON. I believe it was an afternoon session.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. CLARDY. May I ask a further question?

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. I am not sure that I understood one of your answers to my colleague, Mr. Doyle. You said that was all you knew about him.

Do you mean all that you knew about him prior to the Columbus hearing or all you knew——

Mrs. EDMISTON. Prior to the Columbus hearing.

Mr. CLARDY. I see.

The first meeting you had with him, however, was at Columbus?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That's right.

Mr. CLARDY. So that what you heard prior to that time came from other sources, other than personal contacts?

Mrs. EDMISTON. That's right.

Mr. CLARDY. Where did you pick this up?

Mrs. EDMISTON. From the party; from Steve Grattan——

Mr. CLARDY. Oh.

Mrs. EDMISTON. Communist Party members.

Mr. CLARDY. Oh, from Communist Party members?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. I see. They brought up the subject or——

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, prior to the youth conference there at the Southern Hotel——

Mr. CLARDY. All the——

Mrs. EDMISTON. A general discussion of the people would be at the conference——

Mr. CLARDY. I see.

Mrs. EDMISTON. National officers of it.

Mr. CLARDY. So, what information you had before you met him came from people you knew to be members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Thank you.

Mr. VELDE. May the Chair just make a statement?

Mrs. EDMISTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. VELDE. I remember, Mrs. Edmiston, when you testified before this committee in 1950, at which time I was a minority member of the committee, and I felt very definitely you had done a great service to the American people, a great service to your Congress, and I certainly want to thank you for coming here again today—and I know it took some of your valuable time, but I certainly do appreciate your coming here.

With that,——

Mrs. EDMISTON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. If there are no further questions, the witness is dismissed.

Mr. KUNZIG. John J. Edmiston.

Mr. VELDE. Will you raise your right hand, please?

In the testimony you are about to give before this committee, do you solemnly swear you will tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. EDMISTON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN J. EDMISTON

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Edmiston, would you give your full name for the record, please, sir?

Mr. EDMISTON. John J. Edmiston—E-d-m-i-s-t-o-n.

Mr. KUNZIG. And your address?

Mr. EDMISTON. Route 2, Waynesville, Ohio.

Mr. KUNZIG. You understand, of course, every witness has the right to counsel before this committee, and I presume you, by appearing here without counsel, are perfectly willing to testify without counsel?

Mr. EDMISTON. I waive counsel.

Mr. KUNZIG. Are you related to the previous witness, Mr. Edmiston?

Mr. EDMISTON. Only by marriage.

Mr. KUNZIG. I take it the previous witness was your wife; is that correct?

Mr. EDMISTON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Were you present in the room, sir, during her testimony?

Mr. EDMISTON. I was.

Mr. KUNZIG. Mr. Edmiston, do you know the previous witness prior to your wife, the Reverend McMichael?

Mr. EDMISTON. Yes; I do.

Mr. KUNZIG. When did you first meet Reverend McMichael?

Mr. EDMISTON. During June of 1940.

Mr. KUNZIG. Was that the meeting to which your wife has just testified—of the Ohio Youth Congress in the Southern Hotel in Columbus?

Mr. EDMISTON. That is correct.

Mr. KUNZIG. Is everything that is in your affidavit that you and your wife swore to, signed by you and your wife, sworn to before Mary C. Young, notary public, Hamilton County, Ohio, on the 31st day of January, 1953, true and correct, to the best of your knowledge and belief?

Mr. EDMISTON. It is, sir.

Mr. KUNZIG. You have been in the room, as you just testified, and heard your wife testify. Do you corroborate the testimony she gave, and was her testimony true and correct?

Mr. EDMISTON. Her testimony was true and correct, insofar as I know. I cannot corroborate her testimony which covers, I believe, a meeting in Philadelphia on July 4, which I did not attend.

Mr. KUNZIG. But you were present at the other times about which she testified with regard to Reverend McMichael?

Mr. EDMISTON. Yes; I was.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Clardy, do you have any questions?

Mr. CLARDY. No; I believe not. The witness has been identified and has covered the subject.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I have no questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Moulder.

Mr. MOULDER. Just this one question: Is the Reverend Jack R. McMichael that you were called up here a little while ago for him to identify you the same Reverend Jack R. McMichael that you met in the Southern Hotel at this conference meeting and the same person referred to in your wife's testimony?

Mr. EDMISTON. That is correct.

Mr. MOULDER. That is all.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. All right.

Mr. CLARDY. Oh, I think I had better ask one question.

Counsel, did you ask him to look at the witness, McMichael, so he he might possibly identify him in the record?

Mr. KUNZIG. He identified McMichael, sir, as I understand, as the man who just testified before.

Mr. VELDE. Maybe you better do that.

Mr. CLARDY. Yes; I think I will do that.

Mr. VELDE. Yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Will you take a good look at the witness?

Is he the same McMichael you knew back in 1940?

Mr. EDMISTON. Certainly, sir.

Mr. VELDE. May the record show at this point the witness has observed the witness, Rev. Jack McMichael, and has identified him.

Mr. CLARDY. And when you were called to the front of the bench here earlier today to confront the witness, McMichael, did you recognize him at that time as the same person you knew as McMichael back in 1940?

Mr. EDMISTON. I did.

Mr. MOULDER. I think I covered that in my question.

Mr. CLARDY. Well, I think you did, but I wasn't too sure.

Mr. KUNZIG. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. I don't want to be partial to the distaff side of the family, but let me say again I recall your testimony, too, in 1950 and we appreciate what you have done for us.

Mr. EDMISTON. Thank you. We are very grateful to have the opportunity.

Mr. VELDE. With that, the witness is dismissed.

Mr. CLARDY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. VELDE. At this time—

Mr. CLARDY. Pardon me.

Mr. VELDE. I believe counsel has some 27 more exhibits or documents.

Mr. KUNZIG. Yes, Mr. Chairman. With regard to the previous witness, Reverend McMichael, there are 27 more official documents here relating to 12 organizations, 12 additional organizations that I have not yet mentioned, all of which are cited by the Attorney General of the United States and by this committee and other committees. I have that material to present, but it will take, of course, some time to present it.

Mr. VELDE. May we go into executive session out in the hall?

Mr. CLARDY. Before we do, might I ask how many exhibits have we put in all together so far?

Mr. KUNZIG. We have already introduced 41 exhibits so far, Mr. Clardy.

Mr. CLARDY. And 27 more to go?

Mr. KUNZIG. There are 27 more to go; yes.

Mr. CLARDY. Do you think you can go any faster on those than you did on the others?

Mr. KUNZIG. I imagine that depends on the witness.

Mr. VELDE. We will stand in recess, to go into executive session.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., the hearing was recessed.)

(The hearing reconvened at 4:34 p. m., the following committee members being present: Representative Harold H. Velde (chairman),

Kit Clardy, Gordon H. Scherer, Morgan M. Moulder, and Clyde Doyle.)

Mr. VELDE. The committee will be in order.

The committee has decided unanimously in executive session that, due to the fact that counsel for the witness, Jack McMichael, is unable to be present tomorrow, and due to the fact that a number of the members of the committee—in fact, all of them—have a lot of other duties to attend to, Mr. McMichael will be continued under subpoena until the committee has a further opportunity to hear testimony from him concerning the various exhibits counsel has mentioned.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CLARDY. May I add a word to that?

I think the record should show some of the members who have been here and have been absent have been busy on conference committees and that all of us are anxious to get back to the floor because of the debate on the debt limit that is now just about to start. They have been on the rule and I am exceedingly anxious to be heard on that.

Mr. VELDE. Yes; certainly.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, I had——

Mr. VELDE. The Chair realizes, as I said before, all of us have a lot of other duties to attend to, which some of us may think are more important than the duty we are performing here, and I would like to say at this time the Chair certainly excuses any member who has been unable to attend this hearing because I know very definitely that they have been engaged in other duties.

Reverend McMICHAEL. Mr. Chairman, may I just ask a couple of questions?

Mr. VELDE. No; the committee will stand in adjournment at the request of your attorney——

Reverend McMICHAEL. Yes; I understand——

Mr. VELDE. Until you are further notified to appear.

(Whereupon, at 4:46 p. m., the hearing was adjourned, subject to call.)

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